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FLORENT PEETERS

The Right of Nations to Autodetermination

President Wilson in his address to Congress of January 18, 1918, taking into consideration the existence of multinational states as one of the causes of World War I, took sides in favor of the right of nations to autodetermination. The President argued for the withdrawal of German troops from Russian territory, for the reestablishment of Belgian freedom and independence, the reestablishment of the Austro-Italian frontier, the liberation of the peoples from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the reestablishment of Roumania, Serbia and of Montenegro, the freeing of the Turks from the Ottoman Empire and the formation of an independent state with access to the sea for the Poles.

Point 14 describes the formation of an organization of nations whose task it would be to secure the guarantee of 'political independence' and the 'territorial integrity' for small as well as for big states. By publishing these ideas, Wilson laid a cornerstone in the development of political thought, which arose many years before and which, in the future, would be subject to many regressions.

In order to establish the 'status quaestionis' from the viewpoint of political thinking we would first like to draw up an inventory of the contents of the main consecutive documents dealing with this law. The oldest doctrinal evidence favoring the right of nations to autodetermination in contemporary history is Mazzini's Brotherhood Pact of Young Europe, dated 1834.

We are aware of the difficulties that existed between Mazzini and Karl Marx at the heart of the First International precisely concerning Italian nationalism, and which resulted in a break between Mazzini and the founder of the International.

For our purposes, Articles 15, 16 and 17 are of fundamental importance:

'That which is true for each individual in relation to other individuals forming together with him, a Society to which he belongs, is equally true for each nation with respect to the whole of humanity'.
'According to the law given by God to humanity, all nations are free, brothers and equal'.
'Each nation has its special mission, which will contribute to the common goal of humanity. This goal is its nationality. Nationality is sacred' ([1]).

The comparison of the relationship individual-society, with nation-humanity does not really give us a very clear idea of what Mazzini meant by nation. If one accepts this comparison with a certain precision, one should conclude that just as the individual's goal is the attainment of greater perfection in the human society, a nation has as its goal that of becoming itself within humanity.

In fact, it has been said: 'its goal is its nationality'. This comparison is in no way a definition, which from the theoretical viewpoint, would clarify anything whatsoever, or which in practice, would permit the observation: 'here is a nation'. Consequently, a policy tending to give it the right to autodetermination, is nothing more than justice.

Everyone is aware of the slippery terrain, whenever it is a question of linking a policy to the question: 'are we dealing here with a nation, in the case which concerns us ?'. This question arose for the German constituents in 1849. The Constitution of the German Reich of March 28, 1849 states in Article 13; 'To the non-German speaking races of Germany, the Constitution guarantees their own development, especially as to concerns the equal right of their language within the territories they live in, in the administration of religious cults, in the churches, in teaching, in the internal administration and in legal matters'. Here the constituents have correctly used the term 'races' (Volksstämme) rather than the term 'peoples' or 'nations'.

In fact, what this article really contains is a promise to res-

([1]) William Ebenstein, *Man and the State. Modern Political Ideas*, New York, 1947, pp. 563-565.

pect their language in the various fields of culture, within the part of the territory where they lived, all the while remaining an integral part of the Reich, within its frontiers.

Strictly speaking, it is not a matter here of a 'right' to autodetermination, because no subject holder of this right is indicated — neither physical person nor a legal one — but of a freely given promise, limited to a respect for their language within well defined fields of the cultural life, made to a group of people of whom it is said, that they use among themselves the same language other than German. This group remains a vague entity, both demographically and juridically. There is no definition of the concept of *people*, no mention is made of what people is involved and it is only a promise written into a constitutional bill ([2]).

The same thing is true for Article 19 of the Austrian Constitution of December 21, 1867. 'All the races (Volksstämme) within the State have equal rights and each race possesses an inviolable right to the care and protection of his nationality and of his language. The State grants an equal right to all languages used within the country, in the schools, as well as in the administration and in public life'.

'In countries where several races reside, the public schools will have to be organized in such a way that each race has at its disposition the means necessary to complete the whole cycle of studies in its own language without being forced to learn the second national language' ([3]). Here again, as in the preceding text, it is not a question, in the strict sense of the word, of the right of a nation to autodetermination, although such measures have often been abusively qualified as '*internal* right to autodetermination' ([4]).

That is to say, internal to a State, which is not alone and exclusively the State of the people or race in question. What is important, is that the two articles cited, do not mention 'the right

([2]) Cfr. The German text in *Verfassungsurkunden von Staatenverbindungen*, edited by the Bonn Department for Foreign Affairs, p. 155.

([3]) Cfr. K. E. Turegg, *Minderheitensrecht*, Cologne, 1950, p. 131.

([4]) Cfr. G. Decker, *Das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen*, Göttingen, 1955, p. 29.

of a nation to autodetermination'. Although mentioning certain rights, the two articles deny the existence of a nation by using only the term 'race'. — A *word*, however, was needed for lack of a concept or of a thing to which something could be attributed. Each time that the drafter uses the word *right*, he links it to the word *language*. 'The languages have the same right'. This subject of right is very vague.

Secondly, the two articles affirm a right. Strictly speaking this would be impossible in a legal document, from the moment that instead of a term denoting a subject holder of right one uses a word whose meaning is still scientifically indefinable. Both articles, however, affirm and formulate a guarantee concerning certain ways of solving, on a practical plane, problems arising from the habitation within a single State, of groups speaking different languages.

It is not what is called 'race' which, when the State does not keep its promise, will protest, but it will be isolated individuals, perhaps a group of individuals, which will unite into an organization. But even if this group includes all the members of that which in the Constitutional text, is called 'race', it will be impossible to determine whether this race has obtained the quality of legal person possessing the right to autodetermination. It will be and will stay an organization, possibly with legal nature, but then it will have a status similar to that of a commercial organization. It could not be the case of a people having the right to autodetermination.

All the promises and guarantees are involved within the existing State, which is invested with the right to promise and guarantee.

A relative clarity of concepts and intentions already appears through the terminology in the resolution of the International Socialist Congress of Workers and Trade Unions, held in London in 1896.

'The Congress declares that it will defend the complete right of all nations to autodetermination, and offers its sincere and heartfelt sympathy to the workers of each country, presently suffering under the yoke of military, nationalistic or other forms of absolutism. — The Congress invites the workers of all coun-

tries to join the ranks of workers aware of the universal class and to struggle together against international capitalism for the realization of the international socialist democracy' ([5]).

Although at the beginning of the resolution there is a question of the right of nations to autodetermination, the term, 'nation' does not appear again in the text that follows, where only workers are concerned and then again only workers conscious of their class, who are enjoined to fulfill the right to autodetermination. For whom ? For the nations or for the workers ?

The question is not at all superfluous because the double meaning of the text is evident and the difference between the two possible interpretations is extremely important.

Marxist doctrine will be needed to arrive at an exact interpretation of the text.

First of all it is necessary to ask whether the notions of '*workers*' and of '*workers conscious of their class*' are identical with the notions of '*proletarians*' *and of* '*proletariat*'.

Secondly, the question must be asked if 'autodetermination' in the present context means 'to liberate oneself from the yoke under capitalism and absolutism or to win the right to one's own political system'. If we admit momentarily that the Byzantine discussion on the real meaning of the concept of 'class' in Marx has ended and has supplied us with a unanimously acceptable definition, the question should be asked: 'Is it the working, or proletarian class, which will succeed in obtaining the right to autodetermination for all people, or only for itself ?

In the latter case, the proclamation is nothing more than a hoax. From the viewpoint of our problem 'right of peoples', nothing has been said, and everything must be done over again since a governing class already exists — namely the capitalists — and to substitute one for the other makes no sense from the viewpoint of autodetermination.

The achievement of the goals of the international socialist

([5]) Cfr. W. v. Harpe, *Die Grundsätze der Nationalitätenpolitik Lenins*, Berlin, 1941, Annex I, p. 152.

democracy is here identified, with the attainment of autodetermination, a right which is granted to the working class conscious of itself.

This way of deviating a political argument from its original meaning, is nothing more than an attempt to deviate the current of nationalism towards the windmill of proletarian emancipation.

The program for nationalities of the Austrian Socialist Party adopted at the Party Conference of 1899 at Brunn, states: 'that the solution of the problems of languages and nationalities in Austria towards an equality of rights is, above all, a cultural necessity and consequently is of vital interest to the Proletariat'. Let us note that this text of the resolution limits itself exclusively to the cultural field without consideration of other sectors of community life.

'This solution' it says 'is possible only in a really democratic community based on the universal, equal and direct right to vote, from which all feudal privileges have been removed, in the State as well as in the 'Länder', because it is only in a community of this type that the working classes, which are in reality the useful elements in the State and in the society, can exercise their influence'.

We find here, that what could be called the 'internal' right to autodetermination of national groups within the State is, in the last analysis, indissolubly bound to the existence of a political democratic order and is thus taken as but a logical consequence, a corollary, bound by a direct causal link, to the right of autodetermination of each human person taken as an individual.

The so-called right to autodetermination of national linguistic communities within a multinational state, — whose existence we have denied, because no holder of right entitled to this right exists — is here reduced to its correct proportions: the right of each individual to autodetermination in a political order of a free democracy ([6]).

([6]) Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, Wien, 1924, p. 527.

Setting aside the economic and social order, the Brunn conference becomes here the spokesman of the most radical type of political liberalism.

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Lenin was soon to reply to this challenge, in his 'Project for a Proletarian Party Program', dated April 10, 1917.

One of the big problems of Czarist Russia was that of nationalities.

Up to now, we have dealt only with texts of an Utopian nature such as that of Mazzini, or with texts dealing solely with a cultural right and 'internal' to the existing State. — Nowhere have we seen the slightest indication of what path to take to attain the right involved. The cause being that the notion of people has remained up to now indefinable.

It is but the last text, that of the Austrian Social Democracy, which goes as far as the limits of autodetermination in demanding the reform of the State into a *federation* of national democratic states. The right of secession is not mentioned in it.

Lenin, more concerned with political successes than with precise definitions, saw quite clearly that the Russian situation in this field was of such a nature as to promote the success of a revolutionary attempt. In case of a test, the power of resistance of a multinational state is not as great as that of a national state.

On April 10, 1917, he published a project for an electoral platform for the proletarian Party in which, under number 14, he deals with the problem of nationalities in Russia and their right to autodetermination:

'In the national problem, the proletarian Party must mainly favor the proclamation and immediate fulfillment of the absolute freedom to separate itself from Russia for all nations and national groups subject to Czarism and incorporated by force in the State or held within our frontiers by force'.

'All declarations and manifests concerning relinquishment of annexed territories, which are not accompanied by the ef-

fective attainment of the freedom of secession are nothing but bourgeois swindles or wishes of pious little bourgeois'.

'The proletarian Party moves towards the establishment of a state as large as possible because this is beneficial for the workers; it tends towards closer contact and unity between nations; it does not wish to attain this goal by violence, but exclusively by the intermediary of a brotherhood of workers and working groups of all nations'.

'The more democratic the Russian republic will be, the better it will organize itself as a republic of the soviets of deputy workers and peasants and the greater will be its drawing power on the working groups of all nations'.

'Complete freedom of secession, as extensive an autonomy as possible with elaborate guarantees into the smallest details of the rights of national minorities,' — that is the program of the revolutionary Proletariat (7).

These concepts of Leninism are the most radical of all those we have come across up to now, because they defend with an almost absolute radicalism the right of secession, that is to say, the right to establish a new and independent state.

But to whom is this right granted ? The text in its last paragraph mentions local and national autonomy, — which is already much less than the right to secede or the right to establish a new independent state. But next to that, there is a question of guarantees to national minorities. What is the difference between a national minority which has right only to guarantees, and a national group having the right to secession and to the establishment of an independent State ? And what would happen to this right in a State in which all national groups are nothing really more than national minorities in comparison with the Great-Russian colossus, when, in addition to all this, it is stated that «the Proletarian Party tends towards as big a state as possible' ?

Lenin evidently slips towards Utopia, where he expresses the hope of seeing the workers of other nations enter freely into the pale of a republic of soviets. In addition it must be noted

(7) LENIN, *Werke*, Berlin, 1959, vol. 24, p. 58.

that the holder of democratic right to autodetermination, seems to be only the Proletariat, to the formal exclusion of the 'bourgoisie', for in the past, the bourgeoisie has been the tool of a policy of submission and enslavement.

A policy, which seems to have as a goal to eliminate the submission of one people to another by the intermediary of a common state in which one of the peoples is master, must disappear and yield to a new kind of submission of all the others to the proletarian class and this in the whole world.

Everyone will agree in saying that texts as contradictory and as uncertain as these constitute a very unhealthy foundation, — and upon which it is impossible to elaborate a policy.

After a meeting held by Stalin on April 29, 1917, the Pan-Russian Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party adopted a resolution in which it is stated that: 'The policy of national oppression, an inheritance of autocracy and of the monarchy, is maintained by the landowners, the capitalists and the small bourgeois in order to protect their class privileges and to divide the workers of various popular communities (Völkerschaften). Modern imperialism, which reinforces the submission of weak peoples is a new factor in the increase of national submission. In so far as national submission can be eliminated in a capitalist society, this is possible only in a political order which is radically democratic and republican and under an administration which guarantees absolute equality between all nations and languages. The right to free secession and the formation of an independent state must be granted to all nations now belonging to Russia. — The negation of this right and the refusal of measures which guarantee the practical realization of this right is equivalent to a policy of conquest and annexation. Only the recognition of the right of nations to secede, by the Proletariat, assures the full solidarity of the workers of the various nations and stimulates actively the nations to come closer one to another'.

'The present conflict between Finland and the Russian Republican Provisional Government shows in a particularly clear way that the refusal of this right to free secession leads directly to a continuation of Czarist policy'.

'The problem of the right of nations to free secession cannot be confounded with the one of the opportunity of secession of a particular country at a given moment. The latter question must be resolved independently in each individual case by the proletarian Party, and namely by taking as viewpoint the interests of the whole evolution of society and the struggle of the proletarian classes for socialism'.

'The party requires an extensive territorial autonomy, the elimination of controls from superiors, the elimination of an imposed official language, as well as the determination of the frontiers of autonomous administrative territories and of autonomous territories on the basis of economic and vital conditions determined and desired by the local population, and on the basis of the national composition of the population'.

'The proletarian Party vehemently rejects the so-called national cultural autonomy. It is a form of government in which the educational system, etc, is taken out of the hands of the State and confided to a type of national parliament'.

'The workers who live in the same place, and even those who work in the same enterprise, are artificially divided among themselves according to their membership to one or the other '*national culture*' by this policy of national cultural autonomy'.

'This means that the link of the workers with the bourgeois culture of the various nations is strengthened, whereas the calling of social democracy is to strengthen the international culture of the world Proletariat'.

'The Party demands the revival in the constitution of a basic law, by which the privileges, whatever they are, of whatever nation, as well as all the faults, whatever they may be, against the rights of national minorities would be declared null and void'.

'The interest of the working class demands the organization of workers of all the nationalities of Russia into unified proletarian organizations, cultural organizations, political and professional unions'.

'The union of workers of various nationalities in unified organizations, alone, gives the Proletariat the possibility of a

victorious struggle against international capitalism and against bourgeois nationalism' ([8]).

Any reader will be able to see profound contradiction contained in this official text coming from the Russian Social-Democratic Party. Nowhere have we, up to now, met with such radical proposals, which go as far as to concede 'expressis verbis' the absolute right of secession, and which is immediately withdrawn afterwards; for opportunistic reasons, and in order not to prejudice the possibilities of the class struggle. This duplicity is, on the other hand, already to be found in Karl Marx.

Marx' judgments of the national movements of his time were in the last analysis, determined by his economic ideas. Society's progress requires a rich material foundation, which cannot be insured save by industrial methods.

In order to be successful, industrialization requires, for its needs, large integrated societies. That is why Marx makes a rigorous distinction between small and big powers. According to him, only the big powers have the right to an independent political existence, e.g. the British, French, Russians, Americans, Germans, Italians, Hungarians, and the Poles. Other nations must, inevitably, lose their identity through assimilation. It is thus that Slavic groups in Austria and in the Ottoman Empire do not have the right to their own state. On the contrary, the upheaval of small nations toward independence holds the danger of reactionary effects and endangers the formation of large economic areas. Each nation must have at least the land, the means, the waterways and the number of inhabitants necessary to create a large and strong economy.

Neither the race, the number, the geography, nor the consciousness of common traditions or culture give the right to an independent political existence. Marx derives the justification for political independence from the ability to defend oneself and the ability to influence economic evolution in a positive way. The requirements for an independent political existence are: a

([8]) Cfr. J. Stalin, *Der Marxismus und die nationale und koloniale Frage*, eine Sammlung ausgewählte Aufsätze und Reden, Berlin, 1950, pp. 365-367.

large population, continuity of the territory (Geschlossenheit), large natural resources, intellectual and manual resources, specialization, social structure, scientific progress, all of which are foundations of a rich community. At the big memorial meeting of the Polish revolution, Karl Marx gave a speech on November 29, 1847 in London, in which he develops the idea of the unity and inseparability of the proletarian struggle from that of the struggle of the nations for their liberation ([10]). Thus it can be seen that the ideas of the Russian Party remained in the purest Marxist tradition in distributing the claims of nations and of peoples into 'justified' and 'non-justified' from the viewpoint of the development of the struggle of the classes. The big drawback lies in the fact that neither the concrete content of the right to autodetermination, nor a criterion of distribution among beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, may be seen up to now in the three Marxist texts, and as a result we remain completely in the dark when it comes to a political action or when it comes to taking a decision. The proposition itself, which mentions the requirement of *opportunity,* is absolutely vague.

The 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party of March 1919 adopted a new platform, in which an important passage is devoted to the question of nationalities.

With regard to the question of nationalities, the Communist Party bases itself on the following principles:

1. The starting point is a policy of bringing closer together the proletarians and semi-proletarians of the various nationalities, with a view to a common revolutionary struggle for the downfall of landowners and of the bourgeois.

([10]) Cfr. S. F. Bloom, *The World of Nations.* A study of the national implications in the work of Karl Marx (Doct. Dissertation), New York, 1941. — F. Quessel, *Marx' deutsche Politik und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen,* in *Socialistische Monatshefte,* Berlin, 1918, pp. 386-392. — H. Ounow, *Marx und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen,* in *Die Neue Zeit,* ann. 36, Vol. I., Stuttgart, 1918, pp. 577-584. Cfr. also *New York Tribune,* April 24, 1952, p. 6. — Friedrich Engels shared approximately the same opinion, but the development of his thought shows all the arbitrary elements: «Den Tschechen denen er in der neuen Rheinischen Zeitung sogar eine Geschichte abgesprochen hatte, gestand er grosse geschichtliche Erinnerungen in der Folgezeit zu». Cfr. G. Mayer, *F. Engels,* The Hague, 1934, Vol. II, p. 43.

2. To conquer the suspicion of the Proletariat of the oppressed countries against the Proletariat of the oppressing countries, the suppression of all privileges of national groups, the acknowledgment of the equal rights of nations, as well as the acknowledgment of the right to political secession of the colonies and of the oppressed countries is inevitable.

3. Toward the same goal, the Party recommends the formation of a federal union of organized states patterned on the soviet model, as a transitional form on the path toward complete unification.

4. 'With regard to the question of knowing who must be considered as subject to the will of the nation to separate itself, the Russian Communist Party adopts the historical viewpoint modified by the Proletarian class, and it takes into consideration the circumstances of the historical development of the nation involved; if it is on the road between the middle Ages and bourgeois democracy, or if it is on the road between bourgeois democracy and proletarian or soviet democracy'.

In any case, the proletariat of the nations which have been oppressing nations, must be the subject of caution in relation to the remains of nationalistic feelings of the working masses of the oppressed nations, or nations without full rights.

Such a policy is able only to obtain the necessary conditions for a really lasting and freely desired unity of the various nationally different elements of the Proletariat, as was shown by the union of a set of national soviet republics ([11]).

This text dating back to March 1919 marks an important change if it is compared to the two previous texts dating back to May 1917. How can this radical doctrinal change be explained ? On November 2, 1917, the Council of the People's Commissars published a declaration on the rights of the peoples of Russia, edited by Stalin himself who at the time was Commissar of Problems of Nationalities. It is significant that the text of this statement is not to be found in the last edition of Stalin's

([11]) Cfr. J. Stalin, *Der Marxismus und die nationale und die koloniale Frage*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 395-396.

works, Volume 1-13, edited in Berlin from 1952 to 1955. We find ourselves here in the midst of a revolutionary euphoria; the difficulties of stabilizing the new government have not yet come completely out in the open, and the soviet of the People's Commissar, by means of the organ of the Commissar of nationalities, Joseph Stalin, states on November 2, 1917:

'During the period of imperialism following the February revolution when the power had been taken by the younger bourgeoisie, the policy of open hostilities against the nations was substituted by a policy of timorous suspicion with respect to the Russian people; a wrangling and provocative policy covered up by verbose declarations in favor of the liberty and equality of the peoples.

'The results of such a policy are sufficiently well-known: reinforcement of national contrasts and the undermining of mutual trust. It is absolutely urgent to finish with these provocations and embitteredness. From now on, this policy must be replaced by an open and honest policy, which leads to mutual trust between the peoples of Russia.

'It is only on the basis of such trust that an honest and lasting union between the peoples of Russia can be built. And it is solely on the basis of such an alliance that the workers and peasants of the peoples of Russia can be soldered together so as to form a closed revolutionary force, which would be able to withstand all the attacks of the imperialistic annexationist bourgeoisie.

'During June of this year, the Congress of Soviets has proclaimed the right of the peoples of Russia to free autodetermination.

'During October, the 2nd Congress of Soviets asserted in a still more decisive and precise way this inalienable right of the peoples of Russia.

'In order to carry out the will of these Congresses, the soviet of the People's Commissars has decided to take the following principles as the basis of its activity with relation to the peoples of Russia:

1. Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples of Russia to autodetermination,

which may go as far as and includes secession and the formation of an independent state.

3. Suppression of all national and national-religious privileges.
4. Free development of minorities and ethnic groups, which live on Russian territory ([12]).

This declaration whose great advantage is to be issued by the soviet of the People's Commissars, evidently wants to reach a solution to the problem of the struggle between the various nationalities residing on territories of Czarist Russia. This declaration is sharp and clear. With other declarations of equal radicalism it has one gap in common, and this is the sole criticism that may be levelled at it from the viewpoint of a policy of autodetermination; it gives no definition of the concept of 'nationality' and therefore does not define the difference between a minority and a people, either.

At the time of this declaration, the central authority of the soviet was very weak, and on the very same day, a *'Transcaucasian Federation'*, announced on November 2, 1917, its independence. On November 9, 1917, *Georgia* separated itself from ancient Russia, and announced its independence. The two new States found themselves under Menshevik governments. *Estonia* in its turn, declared itself independent on November 15, 1917, *Finland* on December 6, 1917, the *Ukraine* on January 9, 1918, the *Baltic States* on January 15, 1918. *Estonia* declared itself independent for the second time on February 24, 1918. — The *Caucasian Federation* for the second time on May 11, 1918, *White Russia* on March 25, 1918. On May 11,1918, the *Independent Transcaucasian Republic* was established, and on May 22, 1918 *Georgia* followed suit, on May 26, 1918 *Armenia,* on May 28, 1918 *Azerbaidjan* and on November 18, 1918, *Lithuania* declared their independance, respectively ([13]).

All of this policy of 'sale by auction' of the ancient Russia

([12]) Cfr. W. v. Harpe, *Die Grundsätze der Nationalitätenpolitik Lenins,* Berlin, 1941.

([13]) Cfr. Georg von Brauch, *Geschichte des bolchewistischen Russland,* p. 582 ff.

of the Czars, was nothing more than the logical consequence of the principles declared by the soviet of the People's Commissars, and was, on the part of these nations, an act of faith in the sincerity of the Bolsheviks.

The new situation arising from this policy was accepted and formally ratified by Soviet Russia which concluded a treaty with sovereigh *Georgia* during the war against Poland.

On February 2, 1920 the Soviet government concluded, at Dorpat, a peace treaty with *Estonia*. On October 14, 1920 a peace treaty with *Finland* was signed and on December 28, 1918 a peace treaty was also concluded between the Soviet government and the *Ukraine*. All this did not prevent the Soviet Union from reannexing as soon as possible all the territories which had seceded. Upon order of the Politbureau, the Red Army entered *Georgia* in February of 1921, and on February 25, 1921, the country was transformed into a Soviet republic. The general commanding the troops attacking Georgia was Voroshilov, and his Politi-Commissar (political counsellor or observer) was Joseph Stalin himself, author of the declaration on the rights of nationalities in Russia. The bloody revolution which shook this country in 1924 clearly proved that this 'Anschluss' was not in accord with the will of the Georgian people. The revolution was drowned in blood.

The Soviet government concluded a non-aggression pact with the Estonian government on May 4, 1932 and one of mutual assistance on September 28, 1939, — in June 1940, Estonia was annexed by the Soviets. Temporarily freed by the Germans, the unfortunate country was reannexed, after the end of the war and a large number of Estonian citizens were deported to Siberia.

The events in Finland during the Second World War are still too recent to present them in detail here. It is only the protection accorded by the U.S.A. to Finland which saved this country from a pure and simple annexation by the Soviet Union.

The Transcaucasian Federation, Armenia and Azerbaidjan were again reannexed during the civil war. On April 9, 1919, the Ukraine was reannexed by the Soviet Union.

Poland escaped annexation thanks to intervention by allied

troops. The fate of this country, however, is very interesting as a pratical illustration of the two arguments which we have just seen confront each other, in Russia. The Polish Socialist Party, which was founded in 1892 consisted of a nationalist and of an internationlist wing. The extreme internationalists broke in 1900 with the rest of the Party in order to form a Polish and Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party of which Rosa Luxemburg was President. She was convinced that the partition of Poland between Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, all three of which were extensive economic areas, should be maintained, because this would have benefited the Proletariat more than a unified but economically backward Poland. She did not reject Polish reunification as a *final* goal, but, for the time being, she placed more emphasis on other points of the Party's program. There is no doubt that this way of looking at things was according to very orthodox marxist doctrine. Her opponent, head of the nationalist wing, was Joseph Pilsudski, who was so strongly attracted by the ideal of national independence, that he forgot everything else ([14]).

Because of the miracle on the Vistula on August 19, 1920 and the Russo-Polish Armistice of October 12, 1920 which insured the independence of a sovereign Poland, the Lenin of 1917 won a victory over the Lenin of 1919 by means of Pilsudski's armies.

This conflict alone is proof that neither the 1917 declaration nor the 1919 Party Program were clear texts nor, above all, prone to bring about unanimity among Marxists. On the contrary, while leaving, as did all the other texts which we have dealt with, the concept of 'people' in obscurity, they link the right to autodetermination to previous conditions borrowed from marxist doctrine on economic evolution, which themselves, have not been adequately clarified and which, in large part, depend on a very subjective evaluation of the state of a country. In fact, when will an economic area be considered sufficiently big to allow the people who live on it, to mount the ladder of this evolution intended by Marx ? The difference in evaluation

([14]) Cfr. H. Seton WATSON, *Von Lenin bis Malenkow*, Münich, 1955, p. 18.

between Pilsudski and Rosa Luxemburg in confronting the problem of Polish independence is a tragic example of this ([15]).

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Almost at the same time as in Soviet Russia, certain political documents came to light in the Western world; President Wilson's speech of January 8, 1918 containing the Fourteen Points and his speech of September 27, 1918 at the Metropolitan Opera containing five more points. These declarations have very often been used to serve the goals of nationalist demagogy in Europe, especially by the National Socialists who never tired of referring to Wilson's 'Points' and who accused everyone of not wanting to apply the promised 'Selbstbestimmungsrecht'. It is very curious to note that Wilson's Nineteen Points nowhere makes mention of the right of peoples to autodetermination; the concept of 'autodetermination' is not mentioned in the form of a general political principle. We do not wish to reproduce here this text, which can be found in any manual of international politics. It must be established, however, that Nazi propaganda has abused these texts to the point of making of them veritable lies. We find twice in it the term 'autonomous development' in connection with a specific country: Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. The meaning of the word 'autonomy', to say the least, is very hazy. In Belgium, it is most often used to avoid the words 'federalism' or separatism' and the general meaning is: all forms of autodetermination which do not endanger the country's unity, that is to say of the unified Belgian State. The last of the Fourteen Points requires guarantees for the political independence and territorial integrity, for small as

([15]) In 1914 Lenin published a series of articles in Numbers 4, 5 and 6 of the review: *«Prosweschtschenije»* against Rosa Luxemburg's way of thinking. In this study, later published as a pamphlet, he cites Karl Kautsky to prove that the head of the Austro-Hungarian Socialists, Otto Bauer underestimated the importance of the national upheaval. There again, the criticism was late in coming, against the 1899 program of which Otto Bauer was the chief architect. Cfr. R. Luxemburg, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, Berlin, 1955, vol. I, p. 38 ff.

well as for big States. This last argument can naturally be interpreted so as to serve as a weapon against the right of a people to autodetermination. A reading of the text proves irrefutably, that those who reproached Wilson for having acted against his principles, put forward an argument which is not based on those principles.

The first point of the speech held at the Metropolitan Opera demands '*equal rights for all peoples concerned*'.

Even this sentence cannot be considered as being a declaration in favor of autodetermination.

It is to be noted that Point 14 of Wilson's address of January 8, 1918 'specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike' has been the subject of a British Government memoir during November 1918, in which the political wisdom of this formula is seriously questioned. In paragraph V of this memoir where minority rights are brought up, it is stated: 'it would be clear to advise against going even part of the way toward acceptance of the demands of American Negroes, or of the Irish of South Ireland, or of the Flemish, or Catalans, who would appeal to an International Conference of States by going over the heads of their governments'.

On the other hand, it is impossible 'to dictate to an independent power, even if only by a treaty going into details, a policy of religious, racial or national tolerance'. Such an attempt would be doomed to failure ([16]).

It may be said that Wilson brushed against the problem of the right of the peoples to autodetermination (Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker); he did not use the term; he painstakingly abstained from formulating in the form of a general principle the rule of political behavior which he followed in demanding the foundation of an independent Polish state, and the reestablishment of the territorial independence and territorial integrity of the invaded states.

The report of the jurists' commission charged, after the First

([16]) Cfr. A. Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law 1918-1935*, London, 1945, pp. 197-209.

World War, with investigating the question of the Aaland Islands, is entitled «The principle of selfdetermination and the rights of Peoples'.

In this report the Commission notes in 1920, that 'although the principle of autodetermination of the people plays an important role in political thought, more particularly since the end of the Great War, it must nevertheless be observed that the basic law of the League of Nations nowhere mentions this right. The acknowledgment of this principle in a number of international treaties cannot be considered sufficient to place it on the level of a positive law of the rights of individuals. Quite on the contrary, in the absence of special regulations in international treaties, the right to dispose of the national territory is essentially an attribute of each state's sovereignty. Positive International Law no more recognizes the right of national groups as such, to separate themselves from the State of which they are a part, by the simple expression of a wish, than it recognizes the right of another State to demand secession from it'.

'Generally speaking the granting or refusal of the right to part of the population to determine its own political fate by plebiscite or by some other method is, exclusively, an attribute of the sovereignty of each normally established state'.

'A discussion between two States (in this case, Finland and Sweden) concerning such a question, in normal circumstances, deals with a problem which the rights of people leaves entirely to the jurisdiction of the States concerned' ([17]).

'From the point of view of both domestic and international law, the formation, transformation and dismemberment of states as a result of revolutions and wars create situations of fact which, to a large extent, cannot be met by the application of the normal rules of positive law... This transition from a *de facto* situation to a normal situation *de jure* cannot be

([17]) In fact, with regard to the ceding of the Sudetenland to Germany prior to the beginning of the Second World War it was not the Munich Conference which took this responsability; it was Chamberlain who endeavored to obtain Czechoslovakia's agreement. Cfr. Paul Schmidt, *Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne,* p. 400.

considered as one confined entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. It tends to lead to readjustments between the members of the international community and to alterations in their territorial and legal status; consequently, this transition interests the community of States very deeply both from political and legal standpoints'.

'Under such circumstances the principle of selfdetermination of peoples may be called into play. New aspirations of certain sections of a nation, which are sometimes based on old traditions or on common language and civilization, may come to the surface and produce effects which must be taken into account in the interests of the internal and external peace of nations... The fact must, however, not be lost sight of that the principle that nations must have the right of selfdetermination is not the only one to be taken into account. Even though it be regarded as the most important of the principles governing the formation of States, geographical, economic and other similar considerations may put obstacles in the way of its complete recognition. Under such circumstances, a solution in the nature of a compromise, based on an extensive grant of liberties, may appear necessary according to international legal conception and may even be dictated by the interests of peace' ([18]).

The text of this report is the most complete of all those we have dealt with, up to now:

1. It recognizes that the principle of autodetermination is an important thing in 'political doctrine', especially since the World War.

2. It points out that the principle is not even mentioned in the Covenant of the League of Nations and cannot be considered as a principle of positive law of nations.

3. In the absence of specifications of positive law, the right to freely dispose of a territory remains an inherent property of the sovereignty of each individual state.

4. International law does not acknowledge to national groups

([18]) *The Aaland Islands Question.* Report of the committee of jurists. L.N.O.J. spec. supp., N° 3, Oct. 1920, pp. 5-6.

as such, the right to separate themselves from their State.

5. It is the existing State which decides.

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We can thus draw the conclusion, that the right to autodetermination is up to now a nice political theory, but that international law in no way recognizes this right.

The paragraph of the report dealing with the de facto and de jure existence of the seceded territories deals with an altogether different problem, namely that of the transition from a de facto status to a de jure one. What we are concerned with, however, is a problem existing prior to the de facto situation. What is to be determined is whether a national group has the right to conquer, though it be by revolution, this de facto status.

In positive law the question amounts to asking if the right to revolt exists. This is of course a nonsensical question; — the answer is in the negative. A positive reply to this question would have as a result, that the very existence of almost each State would be nothing more than a permanent struggle between those who want to maintain it and those who wish to divide it.

The Polish resolution of April 10, 1934 proposing a generalization of the protection of minorities, basically wants to replace the right to autodetermination by the right to protection. This protection becoming by adoption of the resolution a general and rigorous duty of existing states and a right of all minorities (national, racial, religious, etc.) replacing the right to autodetermination, which is unattainable; and causing the peoples to give up this idea by an improvement in the conditions of their existence in the State which ignored them or had earlier oppressed them ([19]).

The formula of this bill is really a defeat in the face of all sorts of difficulties represented by the argument of the right to autodetermination. It is intended to replace it by quieting

([19]) Cfr. *Nation und Staat,* 1933-34, p. 478.

political grudges and the dissatisfactions of peoples living in a State which is not theirs.

In the declaration of the Four Freedoms, made by President Roosevelt on January 6, 1941, the right of the peoples to autodetermination is not mentioned, even though the excuse for war was precisely a national problem, namely the fate of the Germans of Danzig.

The Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941 touches this problem in Points Two and Three: ([20])

'Secondly, they do not wish to see territorial changes, which are not in accordance with the freely expressed will of the people concerned'.

'Thirdly, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government which have been taken by violence, from their peoples.

The second Point is really too ambiguous to be able to attribute to it anything whatsoever with relation to the rights of the peoples to autodetermination. In reality, this second point may be taken to mean that the freely expressed wish by the Czechoslovak people can lead to the integral reconstruction of a Czechoslovakia as it was in 1938, or it can be interpreted to mean that Czechoslovakia will be dismembered and that the Czechs, the Sudeten Germans, and the Slovaks, will each go his own way, after having freely expressed their wish to be rid of a State, which in 1939 contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War solely by its existence. I am convinced that, even without Benes' unfortunate policy, Hitler would have found one or the other excuse to tear the country apart.

Everything really depends on the meaning given to the word *people*. If the Slovaks are to be considered a people and if, separately from the Czechs, they were to be asked to express their opinion, I am absolutely sure that the result would be completely different were the existence of a Czechoslovak people admitted.

But Point Two doesn't even have the scope of an abstract and

([20]) Cfr. the text W. H. Chamberlin, *Amerikas zweiter Kreuzzug*, Bonn, 1952, pp. 109-110 (translated from the English).

general principle. It is rather a guiding rule that the signatories of the Charter set up for themselves for one single occasion, namely in the restoration of order after the end of hostilities.

But as is very well pointed out in the report of the jurists charged with investigation the Aaland Islands Case: 'new yearnings of certain parts of a nation, which are sometimes based on ancient traditions can come to the surface'.

But, on this problem, the Charter remains silent.

It is just this problem, however, which concerns us. It is the one which occurs most frequently, for the simple reason that a national group which enters into a state, which is not exclusively its own, always does it of its free will, or without expressing contrary feelings; since national difficulties arise, for the most part, only later, when the machinery of the State, completely taken over by the nation representing a majority or conscious of being a majority, functions in only one direction, that of favoring this majority.

It is in this situation that it is urgent and important to find a solution in order to prevent a possible war. An adequate regulation is relatively easily arrived at after the end of a war; the nations being tired of war, war becomes, by definition, almost impossible.

The second point has foreseen nothing for the future, for it has merely sought to formulate a text to serve as a rule of behavior at the end of the war.

Also, the Third Point contains nothing about autodetermination; the first paragraph, in fact, mentions only the free choice of the '*form*' of government. However, this form of government has nothing to do with the problem of nationalities which could possibly exist in this State. The second paragraph makes no mention other than the 'restitution of sovereign rights to the States which have been deprived of them by force'. This sentence seems even to contain exactly the opposite of a right to autodetermination for the peoples. In fact, a right of ancient States to begin again an existence temporarily interrupted by the Nazi or Fascist conquest. Strictly speaking, it is not possible to find even one sentence which would allow using the principle of the right of the peoples to autodetermination against

the Soviet conquest, because this conquest didn't exist at the time. At the most one could put forth the argument that the '*form*' of the Roumanian State for example does not correspond to the freely expressed will of the Roumanian people. A Soviet Empire built on the domination of other peoples by the Russians being perfectly imaginable, without the Soviet politico-social economic system being generalized everywhere there would be nothing to reproach, in this case, Russian imperialism, in the name of these principles of the Charter.

Up to now, the Soviet Government has not yet felt the need to justify its presence and its domination in the popular democracies. In fact, the presence, in spite of appearances is not contradictory to the content of the Atlantic Charter. The existence, however, of an internal soviet order in these countries is not reconcilable with the first paragraph of the Third Point stipulating 'that the signatory peoples will respect the right of the oppressed peoples to freely choose the form of their government'. It is to eliminate that contradiction, that Field Marshal Koniev, in a speech at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow, on May 8, 1955, given at the occasion of the celebrations commemorating victory, declared with emphasis: 'as a result of the victories of the Soviet Army the eternal dream of these peoples, dream of liberty and of a happy life, has become true. Most countries which were liberated from Fascist slaverny have *deliberately chosen the road of democratic development and of the building of socialism*' ([21]).

These assertions by the Field Marshal of the Soviet Union are no more nor less than common lies. To prove this, I do not want to refer to the numerous revolutions, which have taken place in the Popular Democracies and which could at least prove that the Soviet system was not freely chosen; it will be sufficient to cite the text of the agreement between the USSR and Roumania of May 8, 1945. This treaty regulates the economic cooperation between the two countries as well as a system of State control of the petroleum and other industries.

In article 7, the treaty specifies that 'the present agreement

([21]) Cfr. the text in W. Grottian, *Weltrevolution und Koexistenz in Sowjetischer Sicht*, in *Beilage of Parlement*, N° XXX, 1959, p. 607.

will be subject to ratification by the two governments and will take effect at the date of the exchange of the ratification documents which will take place at Bucarest'. The ratification by the people's representatives is thus formally excluded, even though the treaty profoundly transforms the institutions of the Roumanian people ([22]).

The preamble to the Constitution of the Indonesian Republic of August 17, 1945 categorically states: 'As independence is a right of each nation, every colonial system existing in the world is contrary to humanity and to justice, and must therefore be abolished'.

'Our struggle for an independent Indonesia has achieved a victorious stage, and the Indonesian people find themselves on the threshold of an independent Indonesian State, united, sovereign, just and prosperous'.

'With God's blessing, and moved by the high ideal of a free national life, the Indonesian people proclaims its independence..'

It is unnecessary to reproduce here the text of the rest of this preamble which has more of the traits of a meaningless phraseology, than that of a juridical text. In any case, it possesses the big advantage of not sinning by too much clarity nor by an excess of precision. First of all, the drafters pretend to proclaim a right which would be the right of every nation. It is certain that they surpass themselves in the task which has been handed them, and that they transgress, whipped by their democratic zeal, the objective limits of their legal competence.

The proclamation by a constituent cannot have the slightest value for the other peoples. At the most it can grant rights to the people from which it has a mandate. However, not satisfied to fall into this excess of zeal, the drafters do away with a certain number of nations, which really exist, and who, without the least doubt are all Indonesians just as the Italians, Germans and the French are all Europeans, *while at the same time* forming nations very distinct from one another. In speaking only of the Indonesian people — in the singular — the drafters simply volatilize a certain number of peoples and as a result,

([22]) Cfr. *Documentation Française*, 1945, p. 69.

in the light of the Indonesian political situation, this proclamation is a sinister stage play; for the other peoples of the world, it is a demagogic gesture without the least value ([23]).

The declaration of Independence of the Viet-Nam Republic of September 2, 1945, cites at the beginning, a sentence from the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, and commenting on this text the Viet-Namese Declaration says: 'Taken in a wider sense these sentences mean: all peoples on earth are born equal, all the peoples have the right to live, to be free and to be happy'.

This declaration is, if possible, still more fantastic than the preamble to the Indonesian Constitution. What a silly contradiction exists, in fact, between the two ends of the sentence: 'taken in a wider sense 'and' these sentences mean' ? This is a flagrant example of 'Hineininterpretation'. And, how is it possible to proclaim the right '*to be happy*' ? This is without the slightest doubt the ravings of a maddened mind. How can it be otherwise claimed that the peoples are born equal ? A man is born, yes, but how can a people be born ? ([24]).

All the rest is in the same vein: that of an utopian demagogy against the whites and with a clearly Communist ideological tendency. This text is of absolutely no help.

The Italo-Austrian Treaty of September 5, 1946 concerning the guarantees of the cultural rights of the German-speaking peoples of South Tyrol, does not even once mention the rights of the Tyrolians to political autodetermination. It contains the promise, 'that the German-speaking population will obtain a guarantee concerning the exercise of *an autonomous regional legislative and executive power*'. And this formulation has nothing to do with our topic since this autonomy enters totally within the sphere of the decentralization and of the hierarchical distribution of administrative tasks as foreseen in the constitution of an absolutely unified Italy.

([23]) I am thinking here of this particularly revolting case of abuse of power against the will of the Ambonese people, whose right to national independance was recognized by the United Nations. (See the following article in this issue by Prof. van der Kroef Editor's note).

([24]) Text in *La République*, N° 1, Hanoi, October 1, 1945.

One may well ask why a treaty was necessary, which moreover grants the Tyrolians actually no more autonomy than to the inhabitants of the province of Rome. What the Tyrolians had hoped for, was a cultural autonomy. Every normally constituted country has a regional and even communal legislation, and one may ask what could the exact meaning of the epithet 'autonomous' be that was added to it for the Tyrolians.

The United Nations agreement of December 18, 1948 on the prohibition of the crime of genocide, forgot to define what is a *genos* and therefore a definition of the concept of genocide remains impossible. In Article II, the drafters have replaced a definition by giving a list.

A poor solution is found in the formulation 'killing the members of a group'. What can the meaning of the word 'group' be here ? The word recurs five times in the list which replaces an inexistent definition. This is not the way to draft a legal text. In addition, the five paragraphs of Article II clearly prove that it is not the murder of men as such that one wishes to punish, but particularly 'the intention and the fact of eliminating a genos in killing the members of the group'. How can the existence of such an intention ever be proved ? One single murder is a much bigger crime than 'a serious physical or mental injury to the members of a group', the latter being considered as a crime against humanity and punishable as such according to the agreement. This however is not true of the first crime. Nowhere in the whole convention, is there question of the right of the peoples to autodetermination.

History's irony ! At the very moment when the representatives of the Soviet Union were signing the convention foreseeing 'the punishment of the guilty in the State within which the crime was committed', the same government was causing serious damage to the body and minds of the members of a group and deliberately inflicted on numerous groups conditions of such a nature as to cause the physical destruction of the whole group or of an important part there of (Art. II Paragraphs b and c).

Another document, launched by an injured group subjected to the disastrous consequences of the lost war, is of much

greater importance for the topic which is of interest to us 'The Charter of the Germans deported from the territories east of the Oder Neisse', which was solemnly proclaimed in the name of all the deported, at Cannstatt near Stuttgart, on August 5, 1950. This text which is neither a law nor an agreement, nor even a constitution of an international organization, proclaims the need to recognize the right to the Fatherland as a natural right, a right of Man given to him by God himself, as well as the need to obtain this right for everyone.

In presenting the right to the Fatherland as an inalienable human right the text implicitly recognizes the right of the peoples to autodetermination. It is unnatural to force a national group to leave a country that it inhabits since time immemorial and which it has freely chosen, even if this choice, dating back several centuries, was made by means of force.

This proclamation does not explicitly mention the 'right of the peoples to autodetermination', but the right to the Fatherland is, presented in it as a right of divine origin. And undeniably this natural right to a Fatherland is, up to a certain point included in the right of a people to autodetermination. The Cannstatt Proclamation is less a scientific text than a political platform spiritually supporting a political tendency.

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For the first time, in the history of political theory, we find a clear legal formulation without reservations in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. (*Human Rights in the United Nations,* by Charles Molik. U. N. Publications 1952-1-26, p. 13, p. 26). With this text, the argument of political doctrine enters into the world of legal thought and it is worthwhile to ask at this point if the formulation used is a good one. In fact, the great merit of a legal text must be that it uses only terms with a clear meaning designating a very precise concept, from the viewpoint of content as well as from that of extension.

'All peoples shall have the right to autodetermination, namely

the right to decide freely their political, economic and social status'.

This text, despite its conciseness and clarity, presents several difficulties and gaps from the practical viewpoint.

The main one is without the slightest doubt, once again, the lack of a definition of the concept of *people*. In fact, every government having on its territory a group of inhabitants differing in one way or another, from those playing the main role in the State, can always refuse this group of inhabitants the quality of a people. — The case will be, among the problems to be solved, the one which will occur most often. In fact, the fate of the inhabitants of a settlement is clearly defined by the text. The difference between the colonizing and the colonized people is sufficiently wide to allow arriving at the conclusion of the existence of two different peoples, even without a clear and precise definition of 'people'.

But, in the thorniest cases, namely in cases where a group of inhabitants lives *in* the territory of a multinational State and not at a distance, in a corner of the world's surface which has never been part of the territory of the State in question: in the case of residents belonging to the same race and speaking the same idiom for which it has not been philologically proven that it is a language and not a dialect; residents having at the same time a great part of their history in common with the other natives of this State and presenting still other traits in common, of which Ernest Barker says that they are the elements of the concept of *nationality* ? How can one attribute the right to autodetermination to a group of which it is not proven that it is a people, because we do not even have a universally accepted term of comparison serving as a general yardstick to determine if a people is involved in the case under consideration. In case of refusal, it would be impossible to prove the bad faith of the State which should have applied the principle and in case of need the government will always be able to appeal to the principle in the report of the jurists charged with investigation of the Aaland Island problem where it is stated: 'Generally speaking, the granting or refusal of the right to part of the population to determine its own political fate by pleb-

iscite or by same other method is, exclusively, an attribute of the sovereignty of each normally established state'. This is an internal political problem which does not fall under United Nations competence, and which is even, 'expressis verbis', excluded by the jurists. The government in question, called to respect this right will always be able to reply 'non possumus'. and it will be impossible to prove its bad faith on the basis of the United Nations text.

In fact, the concepts of *people* and of *nation*, in the sense here intended, will always remain vague and scientifically ungraspable concepts, and will not become an uncontestable starting point and one devoid of uncertainty. Are the Slovaks, the Britons, the White Russians, peoples in the strict meaning of the text of the paragraph and, do they as a result have the right to autodetermination and to demand for themselves a sovereign state distinct from Czechoslovakia, France and the Soviet Union, when the last three have the right to decide on this right ? And if it is proven that a people is involved because, even without a definition it is clear that, the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes are really three different communities living together within a single State, — is there a federal regime, such as that of Yugoslavia, which corresponds to what the United Nations' text means by the terms: 'freely determine their political, economic, social and cultural status' ?

The same report speaks of 'new aspirations of certain divisions of a people' and raises thereby the process of the awakening of a people which Ernest Barker has also considered and that the report of the jurists in the Aaland Islands question suggests as a solution: '*a concession based on a granting of wide liberties to minorities*'.

All these problems and sketches of solution, show us the enormous difficulties which the United Nations formulation leaves us with. Nevertheless paragraph 2 of Resolution 626 (VII) of December 21, 1952 of the General Assembly moves forward another step toward a concrete political achievement. It recommends as a means to determine the desire for autodetermination the use of the '*plebiscite*' or '*other democratic means*'. It is as a matter of fact, in accord with the spirit of the United Nations'

Charter to give all peoples the chance to freely express their wishes. The government of the Soviet Union, however, defends the viewpoint that the popular democracies behind the Iron Curtain are independent states, — at least as independent as Belgium is for example with respect to the United States. Logically therefore, the United Nations formules are not as a result applicable to them because they are made for the 'non-independent' States.

The right to a plebiscite does not exist; just as the right to autodetermination does not exist either.

Again it must be noted that paragraph 2 of the resolution is in contradiction either with the constitutions, or with the constitutional mores and customs of the large majority of states and up to now no state has modified its constitution in order to make a plebiscite possible. In order to cover all imaginable cases, the text uses the formula: 'non self-governing territories'.

Nobody, at the time that these texts were drafted (December 1952), seems to have been concerned with the fate of certain peoples or states governed by their own nationals, but for the benefit of another country.

The Ulbricht regime in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany, the Gomulka regime in Poland, the Kadar regime in Hungary and still several others, who serve only the interests of the Soviet Union and even do great harm to their own compatriots in order to better serve these interests. In these circumstances, are we still in presence of a country which governs itself, or have we there a regime whose dependence is worse than that of the dying colonial one? In fact, this form of government and of submission is much closer to slavery than to capitalist colonialism. From the purely political viewpoint, the link between the Soviet capital and the satellite country is much closer than that between a capitalist metropolis and the colony. It is by reinforcing the link of subordination that the Soviet Union formally escapes adherence to the United Nations text. Even if the Soviet Union has signed and ratified the text of the resolution of which we are speaking here, it could always dis-

miss the case because these satellites are countries which do not belong to the 'non self-governing peoples' category.

In fact, these States have a government, hold elections, have parliaments; they have a legal system, and have representatives in foreign countries, and in everything, 'act as if'.

Here should be cited, in addition, among the United Nations documents, the resolution on the right to freely exploit the wealth and natural resources, — the resolution of the Fourth Commission on Factors Determining the Identity of Territories, — the recommendations concerning the international respect of the rights of peoples to autodetermination, — the Bill on Human Rights, — the Bill of the Economic and Social Council creating a commission for the study of the principle of autodetermination, — the resolution of the Economic and Social Council on the plebiscite.

All these documents contribute nothing new, which has not already been mentioned in the texts we have already dealt with.

I believe that from the study of the texts the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. In the field of political doctrine the authors always make a distinction between the concepts of '*state*' and '*people*'. They even see a certain antithesis in it, and the people must be protected against the State.
2. The concept '*state*' as a legal individual in international life is clear and precise.
3. The concept of *people* lacks precision, legally as well as philosophically. As a result, it is impossible to say how many peoples there are in Europe. The number of States however is known.
4. The concept of people, meaning all of the individuals residing within a State is completely different from the previous concept.
5. That which, legally, does not exist and which philosophically remains indefinable, cannot be a holder of right and therefore, *the right of a people to autodetermination* is not a right, and cannot become one.

This supposed people, whose existence we can at most guess

at, does not really begin its existence save after having necessarily mobilized and utilized its strength and after having founded a State.

It must be said therefore, that this *autodetermination* is at the same time a birth, a revolution and an acknowledgment, but in no way a right in the usual meaning of the word. It is a break with existing law. By the act of autodetermination an indefinite group asserts itself as a people and separates itself from a state.

The right, therefore, is born from the violent or peaceful revolution: Belgium separates itself from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, Norway separates itself from Sweden.

As Ernest Barker so wisely points out in his work *National Character* ([25]), 'the spiritual essence of a nation can exist without the members of this people becoming conscious of its presence'.

Between the moment when a people exists without knowing it and the moment when it proclaims its right to have its own State, the right to autodetermination, an extremely interesting process takes place: it is the phenomenon of 'becoming conscious'. This process is none other than that of the improvement of the individual man through the arts, teaching, and culture in its widest meaning. It is here that political decisions are taken beforehand in the prepolitical field, but there is no question here of the right of a people. Here lies the problem of human rights, the right, namely, to self-improvement, to follow ones innate calling.

Publishing books, periodicals, newspapers, and to express freely therein my thoughts, defend my ideas on the political life, create works of art, deliberate with my equals, establish organizations, hold meetings, in short to exhaust all the wealth of human potential, encouraged by the means available to the State; these are strict rights of man, which are often not seen when one debates on rights and liberties in a democratic state, but which for that, does not in reality exist any the less. It is even more elementary, more fundamental than the secret of the mails or the sacredness of the home.

A state which subscribes to the obligations contained in the

([25]) Ernest Barker, *National Character*, London, 1927, p. 240.

United Nations documents cannot make the logical consequences impossible, by depriving men of the possibility of improving themselves individually, with a goal to thus preventing the process of 'becoming conscious' of a people, which precedes all separatist policy. The results of the plebiscite with which this State declares itself in agreement is already determined beforehand. This political decision falls in the prepolitical field of the cultural life. Every state which, at a certain moment, grants to a group which lives on its land, the right to teach in its own language, must one day expect, that the problem of a plebiscite will arise, and it would be in flagrant contradiction with the natural right of all humans to refuse this right to full and unrestricted human development.

The only way in my opinion, to avoid on the part of a government, the subterfuge which would consist of saying: 'there is no people here' or 'here there is no non self-governing people', is to take from the list of human rights the right to help by the State in this process of 'becoming conscious', and the right to a plebiscite.

Soviet policy is a splendid proof in favor of this argument. On one side the Germans are the subject of a policy of russification, and on the other hand several thousand Wenden (Sclavi) are the subject of soviet concern which borders on the ridiculous. The Soviets are forcing this people to assume a national consciousness and their policy shows what types of profound contradictions a State is capable of when this is in his interest ([26]).

We cannot reproduce here the text of Khrushchev's numerous declarations on the right of peoples to autodetermination; they can all be found reprinted in the Bulletin of the German Government ([27]). One declaration is, however, particularly interesting. At a political meeting at the Moscow Sports Palace on March 5, 1960 Khrushchev declared: 'our viewpoint is based on Lenin's policy of nationalities, which proclaimed that every people has a right to free autodetermination, and that national

([26]) Walther STELLER, *Name und Begriff der Wenden (Sclavi)*, Kiel, 1961.

([27]) Cfr. *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, 1960, N° 192, p. 185.

problems must be resolved in agreement with the wishes of the peoples. We consider the Afghan demands tending to give the Pushtunian people the possibility to demonstrate its wish, as justified. A popular choice made in all freedom must decide if it must remain within the frontiers of the Pakistani State, if it wants to create a new independent State or to unite once again with Afghanistan'.

'This demand is absolutely justified; it is in agreement with the principles of the United Nations Charter. Our sympathies in this problem are addressed to the Pushtunian people and to Afghanistan. We are sure that shortly, healthy human reason will prevail'.

From the soviet viewpoint it is foolish to ask oneself if the same theory is not applicable to the Germans of the Soviet Occupation Zone.

The reason is obvious: in Pakistan's case, the application of the principle would lead to the weakening of a State belonging to the Western bloc, in the case of the Soviet zone, the same principle would weaken the Soviet bloc. Khrushchev's way of speaking is therefore essentially hypocritical, when analyzed by our methods. It is however very logical when analyzed according to marxist dialectics. Khrushchev does not wish to see justice triumph but rather to weaken the opposite camp. The same is true of his speech at Paris, on March 25, 1960, where he acclaimed General de Gaulle's policy of autodetermination, in the Algerian conflict. The same is true for his anticolonialist policy.

The political side of this position does not, however, interest us here directly.

The chief lesson to be drawn from this soviet policy is that it supplies the proof that a State can help or brake the process of 'becoming conscious', and that it will apply one or the other policy according to the needs of its political interests. Hence, as a general rule, States encourage the development of 'becoming conscious' in neighboring states and brake the same process, as much as possible in their own. The formula 'of the right of peoples to autodetermination' has no legal value; it allows all excuses and exceptions, and politics is trampled on

the spot as is seen from the cases cited. At the present, it is above all the Soviet Union which, with all of its strenght, prevents the application of the principle because its application boils down to the collapse of its whole system of violence.

The subscription of *the right of man* to the aid and concern by the state, in the protection, safeguard and the development of its culture, together with the United Nations formula of a plebiscite, would have the big advantage of avoiding vague formulas such as '*people*', or '*non self-governing territories*', or '*genos*', or '*group*' or all other indefinable terms.

In my opinion the list of the *Bill of Rights* must be completed by the addition of this right.

As long as the Soviets reject all human rights (freedom to meet, freedom to form groups, etc.) they will never agree to accepting making their list of sins greater, and they would be forced to admit, at least by their policy, that the right of peoples to autodetermination, has been nothing more than a weapon in the struggle against the free world. If the free world rejected the formula of 'right of peoples to autodetermination' and replaced it by the principle of 'human right to free autodetermination' the Soviets could no longer catch up with their political propaganda, whereas now they reap success upon success by playing on the duplicity of the United Nations formula.

In the free world, this formula would have great advantage, 1) of reminding us with emphasis, that man does not exist for the State, but the State exists for man, and 2) to give us, in fact, back an ancient liberty, of which the modern State has made us lose sight, so that it is but a souvenir. the right to choose one's country freely at the time one becomes legally an adult.

(Translated by Jacques J. Halber)

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

The Republic of the South Moluccas after Eleven Years : A Review

Early in March 1961, the Netherlands government announced that about fifty Ambonese refugee families, comprising a total of about 300 persons, would be leaving for Indonesia at Dutch public expense. Though passport problems have impeded the departure of these Ambonese it is clear that their leaving will have considerable effect on many of the other 20.000 odd Ambonese now in the Netherlands. Talk of an Ambonese return to Indonesia has been heard for a number of years and earlier some 34 Ambonese families returned to Indonesia. All this will inevitably influence the future of one of the world's forgotten governments in exile, that of the REPUBLIK MALUKU SELATAN (the Republic of the South Moluccas — RMS), and its valiant struggle in Indonesia, in the United Nations Organization, and not the least in the political life of the Netherlands. It may perhaps be useful to review this struggle in terms of the growing bibliography on the RMS.

The RMS was born on April 25, 1950, as a result of certain internal political developments in the newly founded Indonesian Republic. The formal transfer of sovereignty over the East Indies by the Dutch to the Indonesians at the Round Table Conference at the Hague in December, 1949, resulted in the creation of a federal Indonesian Republic of sixteen states, but in the Spring of 1950 the far greater majority of these sixteen states completed a merger with the original *Republik Indonesia,* then largely confined to Central Java, which had led the fight for independence against the Dutch (1945-1949) ([1]).

([1]) J. M. VAN DER KROEF, *Indonesia: Federalism and Centralism,* in *Current History,* 1950, Vol. 19, pp. 88-95.

In most of Western Indonesia this merger of states, though often questionable in procedure ([2]), probably reflected a measure of the popular will, since many of these states had been carved out of the original territory of the *Republik Indonesia* by the Dutch in their struggle against the nationalism of Sukarno and his associates. But in Eastern Indonesia the situation was different. Here, almost at the very beginning of the Indonesian revolution, the Dutch had established a viable separate state (December 24, 1946), extensively decentralized over the distinctive ethnic and island groups of the area, of which the Southern Moluccas (comprising such islands as Ambon, Ceram, Buru, Wetar, and the Kai, Aru and Tanimbar archipelagos) was one ([3]).

The political identity and cultural uniqueness of this South Moluccan area have always been stressed by RMS leaders and it is well to stand still by them for a moment. The rising tide of Indonesian nationalism, evident especially after the end of World War II, presumably affected the Moluccas but little. As J. A. Manusama, RMS Defense Minister, in his history of the origins of RMS put it ([4]): 'When after the capitulation of Japan on August 15, 1945, the independence spirit surged high in virtually all of Indonesia, the South Moluccas were apathetically indifferent toward this'. Ambon and the other islands of the Moluccas were the first regions of Indonesia where Dutch colonial political and cultural influence made itself felt and with their heavily Christianized population, the males of which achieved renown as mercenaries in the Dutch colonial army, the area prided itself in being called 'Holland's Twelfth Province'. These close ties with the Dutch tended to make South Moluccan culture curiously involuted and lacking in vitality ([5]),

([2]) F. R. Böhtlinck, *De nieuwe Eenheidsstaat,* in *Indonesië,* 1950, Vol. 4, pp. 112-113.

([3]) J. W. Levij, *Twee jaar Oost-Indonesië,* in *Indonesië,* 1949, Vol. 2, pp. 429-444.

([4]) J. A. Manusama, *Om Recht en Vrijheid, de Strijd om de Onafhankelijkheid der Zuid-Molukken.* Utrecht, 1952, p. 15.

([5]) See H. Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church. Report on a Decisive Decade in the Growth of Indigenous Churches in Indonesia,* The Hague, 1958, esp. pp. 15-19.

estranged the Ambonese from the rest of Indonesian life, and probably also hampered the economic development of the region. Until recently certain primitive trades and crafts were, as in the sixteenth century, only carried on by certain villages as a matter of privilege ([6]). What RMS spokesmen have termed the 'unconditional loyalty' of the Ambonese to the Dutch Crown has been forged at a price.

The ethnic identity of the South Moluccans, one should hasten to add, is not a unique phenomenon in Indonesia, which is an area comprising many distinctive subcultures jealous of their traditions. Moreover, in their ultimate resistance to the new national Indonesian government in Djakarta, which many Ambonese believed to be unduly dominated by Javanese, the Ambonese were to set a pattern of provincial and ethnic resistance to Djakarta, which has characterized Indonesia since its inception as a national state. Such anti-Javanese feelings are old in the Indonesian islands, and probably stem in part from the policies of the Javanese kingdoms which long before the appearance of the monopoly minded Dutch East India Company traders had ruthlessly sought to establish their commercial hegemony over the islands beyond Java ([7]). The agitation of Indonesian separatist groups, denouncing what they call «Javanese imperialism', has then a long history, perhaps nowhere more so than in the South-Moluccas.

In light of this the constitutional history of the South Moluccan area is of essential importance to the RMS claim. The creation of the State of East Indonesia by the Dutch in December, 1946, also confirmed the existence of a distinct administrative region, or so-called *daerah*, for the South Moluccas, with its own regional council. This council, according to RMS leaders, decided only tentatively, and for the time being, to join the State of East Indonesia, reserving the right, in which the East Indonesian State concurred (also on the basis of the Dutch administrative structure for the State of East Indonesia) to express its autonomy, e.g. secede from the East Indonesian State again if

([6]) G. L. Tichelman, *De Zuid-Molukken. Overzicht van een Eilandenrijk.* Eindhoven, Stichting door de Eeuwen Trouw, n.ed. 43 p.

([7]) Cfr. W. F. Stutterheim, in *Djawa,* 1934, Vol. 14, p. 239.

necessary, and to effect a separate relationship with the Dutch Crown ([8]). This principle of local and regional autonomy was further confirmed by the planned federal structure of the Indonesian Republic, and by the terms of the transfer of sovereignty by the Dutch to Indonesia, which provided that component units through the expression of a plebescite could negotiate a separate relationship with the central Indonesian government, the Dutch kingdom, or both ([9]). The steady process of dissolution of the federal states filled Ambonese groups with alarm. Especially the future of former Indonesian mercenaries in the Dutch colonial army, now about to be dissolved, caused anxiety not only on Ambon, but also in other areas of the State of East Indonesia. When it became ever more apparent in the months of March and April, 1950, that East Indonesia would be dissolved in the Sukarno led unitary Indonesian Republic, and that central Indonesian government troops, principally Javanese, would move extensively into various parts of East Indonesia, including Ambon, the resistance turned to violence. In Makassar, in the Southern Celebes on April 5, 1950, former colonial army mercenaries staged a brief unsuccessful revolt to defend the federal structure of the Indonesian state, but when it appeared that the Djakarta government would continue in its unitary policy political and military leaders in the Ambon area seized the initiative and on April 25, 1950, at a mass congress in Amboyna, the independent South Moluccan Republic was proclaimed.

The international legality of this proclamation which established the RMS has been a source of controversy. Indonesian

([8]) Manusama, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

([9]) *Resultaten van de Ronde Tafel Conferentie zoals aanvaard tijdens de Tweede Algemene Vergadering welke op 2 november 1949 werd gehouden in de Ridderzaal te 's-Gravenhage*, The Hague, p. 44.

([10]) Cfr. the following two publications of the then South-Moluccan Bureau in the Netherlands: C. Soumokil, *Rondom de Affaire Kapitein Andi Abdul Azis*. The Hague, 1950, and *Ambon Beroept zich op Recht en Trouw*. The Hague, 1950. I have dealth with the Makassar revolt in my *The South-Moluccan Insurrection in Indonesia: A Preliminary Analysis*, in *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* (University of Manila), 1952, Vol. 1, n° 4, pp. 1-20.

government spokesmen have declared that the RMS was the work of a handful of political provocateurs, among them the former attorney general of the East Indonesian State, Dr C. Soumokil. The RMS, according to this view was proclaimed 'at the point of the bayonets' of disgruntled colonial army mercenaries and colonial minded Ambonese civilians. There can be little doubt, however, that in the few months that the RMS held sway over the South Moluccas it was a functioning government with a President and cabinet (established on April 26, 1950), with a representation abroad, and with a temporary parliamentary body, whose 75 members had been appointed by the RMS executive because elections were impossible in view of the military emergency which almost at once engulfed the young state. An RMS «Tentative Constitution» took effect on September 4, 1950, which declared the RMS to be «a sovereign independent state based on democratic principles», and whose territory included the former *daerah* of the South Moluccas as it had been established at the time the State of East Indonesia came into being ([11]). On the basis of the provisions of the transfer of sovereignty in December, 1949, to which the Sukarno government at the time agreed, it is difficult to deny the legality of the RMS independence proclamation, for this transfer of sovereignty, as well as the Constitution of the Federal Indonesian Republic, place the principle of regional autonomy for the peoples of the Indonesian archipelago in the foreground. In other words, the new independent Indonesian Republic recognized as a condition of its sovereign existence the maximum degree of self-determination as to their future political status of the peoples living under that Republic ([12]). The dissolution of the federal states early in 1950, including of the federal state of East Indonesia, left the component units of the state of East Indonesia, which

([11]) MANUSAMA, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

([12]) Cfr. the South-Moluccan Bureau's publication *Erkenning van Ambon*. The Hague, 1950, and VAN DER KROEF, *The South-Moluccan Insurrection*, pp. 12-19. For the Indonesian point of view see J. LEIMENA, *The Ambon Question, Facts and Appeal* (s.a.e.l.). It is perhaps noteworthy that the Indonesian government has never published an official white book or other authoritative documents dealing in extenso with the R.M.S. affair.

to declare their autonomy, the choice of either to be amalgamated with the Djakarta government, or to secede and proclaim an independent state. The South Moluccas chose the latter course, not least because the government of the State of East Indonesia proved powerless to stem Djakarta's tide.

Though there has been criticism of an alleged lack of legal formality in the formation of the RMS, recent international legal experts have tended to uphold the RMS position. Günter Decker, a German authority, has stressed the legitimacy of the RMS proclamation not only on the basis of the constitutional provisions of the State of East Indonesia, and the conditional nature of the participation of the *daerah* of the South Moluccans within that state, but has also pointed out that the process of unification of the federal states of the original Republic of Indonesia into a single unitary Indonesian Republic occured without the plebiscite procedure laid down in the Constitution of the federal Indonesian Republic, so that the South Moluccan *daerah,* which in any event had only tentatively joined the State of East Indonesia, was wholly left without constitutional means to express itself on the Djakarta enforced merger of the federal states, including again that of the State of East Indonesia ([13]). The Netherlands Association for International Law, in its resolution on the South Moluccan case, has pointed out that the right to self determination granted to the Ambonese population... could no longer be exercised... owing to the fact that the emphatic and repeated appeals of the government of the component State of East Indonesia to the governments of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (i.e. the federal Indonesian Republic — vdK) and of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the United Nations Commission for Indonesia to apply that provision (i.e. the provision in the transfer of sovereignty

([13]) G. Decker, *Republik Maluku Selatan. Die Republik der Süd-Molukken. Untersuchungen und Dokumente zum Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Ambonesen, zum Föderalismus und Kolonialismus in Indonesien.* Göttingen, 1957, esp. pp. 16-19, 61-62, 91-103. See also *Un Nouveau Colonialisme. Document historique publié par le gouvernement de la République des Moluques du Sud* (s.a.e.l.).

agreement between Indonesia and the Netherlands which guaranteed the right to self determination to every separate state in the federal Indonesian Republic — vdK) prior to the 24th of April, 1950 were rejected or laid aside, from which it clearly appeared that the realization of the right of self determination of the populations inhabiting the territory of the component state of East Indonesia in that manner and in that form were imppossible' ([14]).

Dutch authorities have noted that the destruction of the federal state went contrary to assurances given by Indonesian government spokesmen themselves in the U. N. Security Council. On December 22, 1948, during the discussions of the Security Council, Lambertus Palar, the Indonesian representative, declared that 'Federalism as a basis for the structure of Indonesia is a concept completely accepted by the Republic'. Palar was referring to the original Indonesian Republic in Java, the state which would prove to be the very force pressing for the merger of the other federal states later on. Dutch writers have also pointed out that the question of the right of self determination for the South Moluccas is no longer merely an academic one, inasmuch as this right has been emphatically and repeatedly affirmed by U. N. action with respect to other colonial or recently colonial areas since the South Moluccas were overrun by troops of the Djakarta government in the latter half of 1950 ([15]).

Even before this military conquest of Amboyna and neighboring islands, the exodus of Ambonese had gotten underway and by the middle of 1951 some 12,500 Ambonese had arrived in the Netherlands whence they had been transported with the concurrence of the Indonesian government, at their own request, and at Dutch government expense (As former members of the Dutch colonial army the Ambonese had the right to

([14]) See the South Moluccan Bureau's Publication *De Stem der Ambonezen*. The Hague, 1950, p. 10 and P. W. Lokollo, *Amboyna's Struggle Against the Lies of Djocja*. The Hague, 1950, p. 30.

([15]) N. J. C. M. Kappeyne Van De Coppello, *Relation to the United Nations*, pp. 90, 99-100 in J. C. Bouman, a.o. *The South Moluccas. Rebellious Province or Occupied State*. Leiden, 1960.

designate the place where they would be leaving military service, and in view of the reprisals which many Ambonese expected from Indonesian quarters the Ambonese choice to be discharged in Holland becomes understandable). By 1961 the members of the Ambonese group had grown to about 20,000. From the start the Ambonese were placed in some 70 government camps, barracks and in empty buildings such as former monasteries. The immediate effect was that the Ambonese were comparatively isolated from the rest of Dutch national life, also because of the distant location of many of the camps. Considered, as having Indonesian citizenship, barred from entering the Royal Dutch Army (an entry to wich many of the Ambonese felt and still feel entitled by virtue of certain technical regulations governing conditions of their discharge from the colonial Dutch army), and living in a chilled and alien land whose government soon came to regard them as a liability, the position of the Ambonese and of their RMS leaders which established their government in exile also in the Netherlands, became increasingly difficult.

A special report commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Social Welfare, and published in 1959, points out, ([16]) that initially the government neither encouraged nor hindered the absorption of the Ambonese in the Dutch labor process, but gradually, as more Ambonese became skilled in various trades, not the least because education of all types among the Ambonese had been firmly promoted by the Dutch authorities, the Ambonese were in fact encouraged to obtain regular employment. But various factors have aggravated the tensions within and surrounding the Ambonese community in the Netherlands, tensions invariably reflected in the RMS government in exile. A sense of having been the victim of Dutch bad faith underlay and continues to underlie much of the sentiments of the Ambonese group. As one Dutch journal put it at the time that the first Ambonese arrived in Holland: the Ambonese tragedy 'is the tragedy of loyalty

([16]) *Ambonezen in Nederland. Rapport van de Commissie ingesteld bij Besluit van de Minister van Maatschappelijk Werk dd. 24 september 1957, n° U 2598.* The Hague, 1959, p. 12.

which has been repaid by perfidy' ([17]). This perfidy refers to the failure of the Dutch government to press for a reversal of the enforced unification of states in Indonesia, for an investigation in the U.N. of the status of the RMS, for official recognition of the RMS also abroad, and to the opposition to absorption of the Ambonese by the Royal Dutch Army, among others. Though some 1200 Ambonese over the years left the government camps for various reasons, and such departure is in principle not opposed by the government, it has been difficult to integrate the Ambonese group in Dutch life, partially because RMS leaders themselves oppose the actual assimilation of the Ambonese, and insist that the group retain its ethnic identity as much as possible as the requisite basis of the RMS government.

The Ambonese thus finds himself in a crossfire of sentiment and appeals: the logic of his situation dictates amalgamation if not assimilation, his revered RMS leaders oppose this. The uncertainty thus created appears especially to paralyze the young. The earlier mentioned report by the Social Welfare Ministry indicates that 75% of married and single Ambonese males had found employment by 1958, but that the percentages of unemployed youth (i.e. presumably those under the age of 21) is much higher, i.e. 36,4% for young males and 53,5% for young females, notwithstanding the fact that practically all Ambonese children which grew up in the Netherlands have had some kind of secondary education beyond the primary school ([18]). While technical problems, such as limited job opportunity and the isolation of the camps, may have contributed to this condition, other, psychological and cultural, factors must probably also be regarded as equally significant. Among these latter factors one should mention the traditional aversion in the Ambonese group to gainful employment of women and girls, the strongly developed mutual assistance pattern in family life, which, backed by Ambonese social linkages ([19]), protects the individual from want

([17]) *Haagse Post.* (The Hague), April 21, 1951 (Article entitled «Een Erezaak»).

([18]) *Ambonezen in Nederland, op.cit.,* pp. 44-45.

([19]) *Ibid.,* p. 45-46 and T. Wittermans, *Functional Aspects of 'Pela' among Ambonese Refugees,* in *Indonesië,* 1955, Vol. 8, pp. 214-230.

and probably tends to undermine his selfreliance. One should probably also add the demoralizing effect of living in makeshift, overcrowded barracks, and one may cull press reports from 1951 to the present alleging (or denying) the intolerable conditions in which Ambonese must exist ([20]).

But suggestions to 'individualize' Ambonese living conditions, e.g. by transferring them from their barracks and camps and into individual family dwellings in a more or less integrated environment, has met with strong RMS opposition, as well as with the criticism of some other Ambonese themselves, on the grounds that the ethnic identity of the group might be impaired and ultimately lost. RMS spokesmen have termed all Dutch government efforts to bring about the assimilation and integration of the Ambonese 'as a very unelegant device to be rid of the difficult Ambonese problem' ([21]).

Not all segments of Dutch public opinion see the only future course of the Ambonese as one of their eventual integration and assimilation (although it is noteworthy that nearly a third of the marriages concluded by members of the Ambonese since their arrival in the Netherlands have been mixed, i.e. have involved a white Dutch spouse). Especially in circles of the Dutch Reformed Church, and in the influential Protestant confessional Anti-Revolutionary Party, there is continuing sentiment that neither the Dutch government nor the Dutch nation have dealt justly with the Ambonese and the appeals of the RMS ([22]). But few other groupings show any similar interest and under the circumstances the RMS leadership is left to fulminate impotently against what it calls the abstemious *bukan suja* (an Indonesian

([20]) See e.g. *Nieuwe Drentsche Courant* (Groningen), April 24, 1951 (Article 'Alle hulp is Welkom'), and *Nieuws in het kort over de Zuid-Molukken* (Rotterdam), January 25, 1961 (Article 'Ambonezen wensen bij elkaar te blijven').

([21]) *Nieuws in het kort over de Zuid-Molukken,* December 25, 1960 (Article 'Integratie en Assimilatie van de Ambonese Gemeenschap in de Nederlandse Samenleving').

([22]) See e.g. P. S. Gerbrandy, *Ambon en de A.R. Partij. De Vrijheidsstrijd van de Republiek der Zuid-Molukken.* Kampen, 1956 and *Ambon en het Geweten der Kerk* (s.l., 1960).

phrase meaning 'not I', indicating one is not involved or not responsible for something) policy of the Dutch government toward RMS claims and against the utter lack of information which the government provides to the Dutch public on the subject of the plight of the Ambonese ([23]).

One alternative solution which has sometimes been suggested to the Ambonese problem is migration to Dutch held West New Guinea, within or independent of some kind of military connection. Hardly had the Ambonese arrived in the Netherlands or this possibility was proposed ([24]). Since then RMS leaders have vainly attempted to make themselves heard in the United Nations on the Dutch-Indonesian dispute over the West New Guina area, but the Dutch government has not particularly favored Ambonese entry into the disputed territory. For one thing, because of the unwelcome repercussions this would have among indigenous West New Guinea Papuan groups, due to latent ethnic hostilities between Papuans and most East Indonesians such as Ambonese or Keiese. For another, because the influx of Ambonese as *civilians* would create serious employment problems in the struggling West New Guinea economy, while their entry as military, even if legally possible, would undoubtedly exacerbate tensions with Indonesia. Then, it is also doubtful if Ambonese themselves would be willing to go to the area in view of the fact that an Indonesian military attack on West New Guinea must not be ruled out, and Dutch supervision over the region will draw to a close in the foreseeable future ([25]). RMS leaders have now declared that they will always 'respect a free and sovereign New Guinea', but they have also cast doubts on Dutch promises for speedy self government for West New Guinea, in view of the little attention paid by the Dutch to South

([23]) *Nieuws in het Kort over de Republiek Zuid Molukken,* February 25, 1961 (Article 'Bukan Saja Politiek van de Nederlandse Regering t.a.v. de Rechtsstrijd der Zuid Molukkers').

([24]) *Nieuwe Provinciale Groninger Courant* (Groningen), April 24, 1951 (Article 'Wanneer gaan wij naar Nieuw Guinea ?').

([25]) Cfr. by J. M. VAN DER KROEF, *West New Guinea in the Crucible,* in *Political Science Quarterly,* December 1960, and *Nationalism and Politics in West New Guinea,* in *Pacific Affairs,* March 1961.

Moluccan claims to self determination([26]). In the meantime no Ambonese or Keiese (a related group) will be allowed to migrate from the Netherlands to West New Guinea, until the recently established 'New Guinea Council', the territory's embryo parliament body, will have been heard on the matter.

One aspect of RMS policy toward West New Guinea today is perhaps revealing for the long range hopes of the exiled RMS leadership. Even if sovereignty is granted to West New Guinea, an official RMS publication has recently pointed out, the possibility of an Indonesian attack will continue, for Indonesia will not abandon its campaign to obtain West New Guinea one way or another. Therefore:

> The Indonesian threat will only disappear when the Archipelago (of Indonesia) is disintegrated into several independent and sovereign states and when there is a complete and definite abandonment of the idea of an Indonesian political unity. As long as the Indonesian leaders, no matter whether their name is Sukarno or Sjafruddin (leader of the anti-Sukarno Indonesian rebel government), consider the Ambonese Indonesians, either in accordance with or against their own will, these leaders will also force the aborigines of New Guinea to accept the Indonesian nationality ([27]).

It might be added that a total fragmentation of the unitary Indonesian Republic may not be necessary to realize RMS aims: a restoration of the federal republic as it existed in 1949 and affirmation of the right to secession of any member state would accomplish the same end. From this point of view those rebel groups now in Indonesia opposing what they have termed 'Javanese imperialism' and advocating a federal state would be potential allies of the RMS, although it is doubtful if these rebel groups necessarily would endorse secession and an independent RMS. Lately some Dutch supporters have suggested that the establishment of a 'Melanesian Federation', comprising Dutch

([26]) *News in Extract from the Republic of the South Moluccas* (Rotterdam), November 25, 1960 (Article 'The South Moluccan Attitude Towards the Future Status of West New Guinea').

([27]) *Ibid.* See in this connection also J. A. Manusama, *Het Federalisme in Indonesië, Tot Vrijheid Geroepen.* Utrecht, January 1961, pp. 4-5.

held West New Guinea and Australian held East New Guinea would also strengthen the RMS' search for recognition, possibly also on the basis of an RMS *Anschluss* with such a 'Melanesian Federation' ([28]).

In the Ambonese group in the Netherlands opinion on such political eventualities is sharply divided, reflecting the comparatively large number of political and other special interests that have emerged in the group. There has been a ceaseless bifurcation, fusion and re-bifurcation of Ambonese organizations over the years. Some organizations are quite small and exclusive and mirror the specific island origins of their members, others are large and some also encompass within their overcapping structure lesser associations. An example of a small exclusivist association is the *Kepentingan Rajat Pulau Pulau Terselatan* (Interest group of Inhabitants of the Southernmost Islands — KGPPT), with about 1200 members, who all hail from the Banda and Wetar islands in the South Moluccas. An illustration of a large and ethnically exclusive group is the *Badan Perwakilan Rajat Malauku Selatan* (Representative Body of the South Moluccan People — BPRMS), with about 11.300 members, and comprising primarily inhabitants from Ambon and immediately adjacent islands. *Gabungan Organisasi — Organisasi suku Maluku* (Federation of Organizations of Moluccan Origin — GOSM) has about a thousand followers, and is a federation of three lesser organizations, including a group called *Aliran Pulang ke Indonesia* (Movement for the Return to Indonesia — Apkindo). This latter organization, as well as other groups, favor a return to Indonesia, and from GOSM some 34 families have thus far gone back to Indonesia with the approval of both the Dutch and Indonesian authorities. But on the subject of the circumstances under which return to Indonesia should be effected there is a good deal of difference of opinion. As the Dutch Ministry of Social Welfare in its earlier cited report on the Ambonese points out 'pratically all Ambonese view their future, however, as not lying in the Netherlands

([28]) Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, Afdeling Documentatie, *Persdocumentatie betreffende Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea*. The Hague, March 18, 1961, n° 122.

but in their land of origin, for the majority this means politically a free RMS, for the minority it means being a part of the Indonesian Republic' ([29]). The report also points out, however, that the organizations may not be altogether representative of the wishes actually living in the Ambonese community. Thus, leaders of virtually all organizations oppose naturalization of the Ambonese to Dutch citizenship status, yet the pressure toward an eventual integration and assimilation appears to be growing also. The RMS government in exile has condemned in no uncertain terms those Ambonese who return or seek to return to Indonesia under the present circumstances ([30]), but the intention of some 300 Ambonese to return nevertheless, as announced in March, 1961, may well herald ultimate defection in even larger numbers.

The role of the United Nations, and its Commission for Indonesia, which was so instrumental in mediating the dispute between the revolutionary Indonesian movement and the Dutch, has as regards the RMS been a singularly unfruitful one. Strictly speaking, the formation of the RMS required the concurrence of the U.N. Commission for Indonesia according to decisions reached at the Dutch Indonesian Transfer of Sovereignty Conference in December, 1949. But the Commission's 'negative attitude even amounting to a rebuff' ([33]) of the RMS' aspirations, and the Commission's meek concurrence in the dissolution of the federal states were hardly indicative that the RMS case would even be heard by the world body. A Dutch appeal to the Commission was later laid aside by the U.N. Security Council, and the Dutch delegate declined to press the matter. The Commission's own reports on the events in Indonesia, including those in Ambon, were generally couched in vague terms, and although the U.S. representative in the Security Council, Mr. Warren Austin, on the basis of the Commission's reports, indicated on October 30, 1950, that he thought the 'Ambon affair' should be looked into at an early date, no other member of the Coun-

([29]) *Ambonezen in Nederland, op.cit.,* p. 88.

([30]) *Nieuws in het Kort over de Republiek Zuid Molukken,* March 25, 1961 (Article 'De Terugkeer van een Groep Ambonezen naar Sukarno').

([31]) J. C. M. Kappeyne Van De Coppello, *op.cit.,* p. 98.

cil seemed to think so, and there is where the matter essentially has rested until this day. Though for some years the RMS had an unofficial observer at the United Nations, his efforts to introduce the RMS case have been unsuccessful, no nation wishing to take up what seems by now to many to have become an internal Indonesian affair ([32]).

It is evident that under these circumstances the future of the RMS has become rather bleak as it commences the second decade of its existence. Barring a political upheaval in Indonesia which would make the decentralization or even dismemberment of the country a reality, the only future of the supporters of the RMS would seem to lie in an integration in the Netherlands, or an eventual return to a government which they have opposed and have learned to hate for so long.

([32]) In this connection see also G. H. Van Der Molen, *The Legal Position according to International Law*, pp. 65-84, and H. J. Roethof, *An Existing State*, pp. 105-122, in J. C. Bouman, a.o. *The South-Moluccas, op.cit.*

H. R. TINKER

Events and Trends

INDIA TODAY: A NATION IN MAKING, OR BREAKING ?

What features give the study of Indian nationalism a special significance ? India is more than a country. It is (as Toynbee indicates in his system of classification) a civilisation. Moreover, it is a civilisation which at different times in world history has formed a meeting place, a junction for universal ideas and movements. Some Empires are culturally autonomous, self-sufficient, surrounded by a Great Wall of mental isolation, repulsing external influences as manifestations of barbarism: China is such a culture. But, as Jawarhalal Nehru has observed India's 'peculiar quality is absorption, synthesis'. While receiving India has continually been giving to the world. Ancient India was the matrix of astronomy and mathematics. Hindu-Buddhist civilisation reached outward, sending its missionaries across Central Asia and the Far East; laying an indelible impression upon South East Asia. During the centuries of Muslim rule, northern India absorbed Persian and Arabic cultural, political, and legal concepts; contributing in turn to the Islamic heritage. Finally, during two hundred years of British rule, European and Christian ideas and beliefs created a new, Westernised elite; the professional and commercial middle class.

This Indian middle class has assimilated Western values, consciously and unconsciously, into the mainstream of its thought and behaviour. Greek political thought, the Christian ethic, the Enlightenment philosophy of the Rights of Man, Nineteenth Century belief in democratic parliamentary institutions: all these have been aassimilated, in theory, and to a lesser extent in practice, within the fold of Hinduism. Indian

nationalism is founded upon a political and social ethos, combining Western and indigenous elements, of a range and depth beyond almost all the other national movements which have risen, meteor-like, in the postwar world. Whereas in most of these movements the 'modern' (represented by alien, Western dogma) and the 'traditional' (the forces of custom, religion, and social pressure) form separate compartments of thought and behaviour; Indian nationalism is based upon political philosophies in which foreign and native influences have interacted and mingled: if they have not entirely merged. The Gandhian philosophy is, perhaps, the most complete illustration; it is based on two thousand years of Hindu thought, from the *Gita* onward; but it is even more profoundly marked by the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, Ruskin, Tolstoy, Kropotkin ([1]). In his autobiographical *Experiments with Truth,* Gandhi frames his thoughts in purely Hindu terms: he defines the purpose of his *Experiments* as to achieve... self realisation, to see God face to face, to attain *Moksha* [enlightenment] ([2]). Yet, as he acknowledges, his Hinduism has been transmuted: he is influenced by concepts which have no place in ancient Hindu belief, such as humility, sin, savaltion. By contrast, in his *Autobiography,* Nehru appears as one who is consciously secular in outlook, emancipated from the superstition of the past: yet he pursues a restless Byronic search for a philosophy. He confessed in *An Autobiography*. I have become a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere' ([3]). Twenty years later, he was still striving to reconcile the irreconcilable: Liberalism and Marxism, the spiritual and the material, nationalism and internationalism.

([1]) See Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence; the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict.* Princeton University Press, 1958. For an excellent conspectus of Indian thought from classical times to the present day, see *Sources of Indian Tradition,* compiled by W. T. de Bary, R. Weiler and A. Yarrow. New York, Columbia University Press, 1958, XXVII-961 p.

([2]) Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments With Truth.* An Autobiography. Translated from Gujerati by Mahadev Desai. London, Phoenix Press, 1949.

([3]) Jawarhalal Nehru, *An Autobiography*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1936. (over twenty reprints).

Indian nationalism, then, has emerged out of a process of fusion and fission. This development in the realm of ideas has been paralleled by a steady development in the practical experience of government and politics. Let us recall that the three great universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras opened their doors in 1857. The first Indian became a barrister in 1862, G. M. Tagore; and the first Indian succeeded in the highly competitive examination for the superior Indian Civil Service in 1864, Satyendranath Tagore (both these pioneers came from the brilliant Calcutta family of whom Rabindranath Tagore is the most famous member). The Indian National Congress held its first session in 1885. These events of the middle years of the Nineteeth Century are reminders of long-term Indian participation in political institutions of a Western character. In independent India, the legislature, the judiciary, the executive — as well as political parties and the press — are all established upon foundations which have stood, and been tested, over a long period. The evolution of these processes of political growth can best be studied in the reports of the Commissions and Committees which were appointed to consider the course of further political development ([4]). Of these reports, perhaps the most notable was the last, *The Report of the Indian Statutory Commission,* usually known as the '*Simon Report*' from the name of its chairman. Whoever wishes to understand the setting in which the political forces contended for power and influence in the years before independence, should read its pages. The report describes how British rule had etablished 'the conceptions of impartial justice, of the rule of law, of respect for equal civic rights without reference to class or creed, and of a disinterested and incorruptible civil service'. The report takes account of 'the immense area and population of India, the diversities of race, creed, and caste' but insists upon the geographical, political, and economic unity of the subcontinent,

([4]) Especially, *Report of the Royal Commission Upon Decentralisation in India.* London, 1909, 10 vols. *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.* London, 1918. *Interim Report... Review of the Growth of Education in British India.* London, 1929. *Report,* etc. *of the Indian Statutory Commission.* London, 1930, 17 vols.

and concludes 'The unity imposed upon India by the external forces of Great Britain is today reinforced by an increasing sense of Indian nationnality'. Nationalism is regarded as a unitary movement: 'The one force in Indian society today that may perhaps contain within itself the power to overcome the deep and dangerous cleavages that threaten its peace'.

Within twenty years of the appearance of the *Simon Report,* the subcontinent had been divided into two mutually hostile nations. Nationalism had assumed a form contrary to that which Indian political leaders had taken for granted for eighty years. The unity of India had been an article of faith with all Westernised nationalists: yet, in the 1920s and '30s, as an increasing proportion of the population was accorded the franchise, and in the shadow of an Imperial abdication, the most important Indian religious minority decisively pronounced that the loyalties of its members lay with religion and not with the geographical entity, India.

How did this association of nationalism with religion emerge? Right up to the threshold of independence, most outsiders were mystified by this gathering in of the Muslims. Why were the aristocratic, Persianised landlords of Oudh, the tough, martial peasantry of Punjab, and the schoolmasters and cultivators of Bengal united under the leadership of a cosmopolitan Bombay barrister ? Why did they demand a political solution which must banish a sizeable minority of them to a permanent political wilderness ? Some observers, like Nehru, dismissed the whole movement as obscurantist, unnatural, unreal. Others suspected that the demand for Pakistan was an elaborate red herring or ruse to obtain political concessions of an entirely different order. Too late, the Congress leaders realised that in frustrating and irritating the Muslim community by petty, legalistic manœuvres they had contributed to making inevitable the partition of India: the consummation they so absolutely abhorred. How did the Muslim demand acquire its irrestible momentum ? And how did the Congress come to place itself in the position of contributing to the alienation of the Muslims? A satisfactory explanation of the Pakistan demand has only recently been given in Khalid Bin Sayeed's *Pakistan, the For-*

mative Phase ([5]). Professor Sayeed disposes of several myths. He effectively demonstrates that the legend of a British master plan to drive a wedge between Hindus and Muslims («divide and Rule») is so much eye-wash. He also seeks to modify the view that Pakistan was created by the iron will of one man, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He argues that, although the Pakistan concept was defined by middle class Muslim political theorists, it only became practical politics when the Muslim masses took up the slogan and raised the old ery of Islam in Danger, sweeping along the secular, middle class lawyer politicians upon a wave of religious emotionalism. This mass agitation of the emotions among the Indian Muslims formed the first departure from the Westernised middle class political though which (so we argue in this survey) provided the foundation of the Indian national movement. It is significant that with this eruption of traditional, irrational mass feeling, the *national* political impulse of the middle class is replaced by an identification with an older more narrow group loyalty. This trend, we shall see, recurs in independent India.

Interpretations of the events which led to Partition, written from the Congress viewpoint, do not give a satisfactory explanation of the Congress behaviour. The standard account is *The Transfer of Power in India,* by V.P. Menon ([6]). The author was Constitutional Adviser to the Viceroy during the crucial years 1942-47. His subsequent close association with the Congress Central Government, and Sardar Patel in particular, tinges his interpretation of events: though his general objectivity is beyond question. Another work which provides a detailed narrative of this period is Michael Brecher's *Nehru, a Political Biography* ([7]). The author is a Canadian political scientist, but he would not deny that his sympathies are engaged by the subject of his portrait. The third book to be mentioned is the least *en-*

([5]) Khalid Bin SAYEED, *Pakistan, the Formative Phase.* Karachi, Pakistan Publishing House, 1960, XII-492 p.

([6]) V. P. MENON, *The Transfer of Power in India.* Calcutta, Longmans, 1957, IX-543 p.

([7]) Michael BRECHER, *Nehru, a Political Biography.* London, Oxford University Press, 1959, XVI-682 p.

gagé; R. P. Masani's *Britain in India* is a balanced, clear-eyed account of these times by one who was a compassionate observer of the struggle ([8]). However, Mr Masani did not have access to confidential documents, while his own outlook is so liberal and free from fanaticism that he simply cannot grasp the nature of the Muslim demand.

Let us examine the situation. The Indian National Congress claimed that its title was a literal description of its role: that of the only body entitled to speak for all the peoples of India. Its members delighted to call their activities the 'Freedom Movement': they were no mere political party, they manifested the Soul of India. The Congress leaders dismissed the pretensions of the Muslim League as the posturings of a British-created faction, a product of the policy of Divide and Rule. Congress was concerned with only one solution for India's political problems: *Purna Swaraj,* 'full independence'. British attempts to find constitutional formulae to safeguard the minorities were regarded as little more than devices for perpetuating Imperial control. This remained the Congress position down to the closing months of 1946, when Nehru was still brushing aside the claims of the Muslim League and the proposals of the British alike. 'Our patience is fast reaching the limit', he threatened, 'If these things continue, a struggle on a large scale is inevitable'. Yet, within a few weeks, the Congress had acquiesced in such a settlement as had been theirs for the taking all along. They agreed to Dominion Status within the framework of the Government of India Act of 1935, which Gandhi had pronounced 'Satanic' (though he admitted he had not read it). More extraordinary, Congress agreed to the division of India.

How did all this come about ? The three authors previously cited recite their narratives of the public events which led to this capitulation. They cannot expose the minds of the Congress leaders for us, and their motives remain hidden. Only one of the Congress inner circle has so far published his memoirs, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, 1940-45.

([8]) R. P. Masani, *Britain in India. Bombay,* Oxford University Press, 1960, XV-278 p.

His *India Wins Freedom* appeared posthumously in 1959, and created a furore. Azad purports to explain how Congress came to accept Partition, by attributing the decision to personal and political mistakes and failures. His account is openly partisan. He does help to explain why Jinnah's attitude to the Congress (of which he was once an enthusiastic member) hardened into hatred. Azad artlessly reveals his own share in deliberately frustrating the Muslim League from achieving office in Punjab, when this was their right as the majority party in the legislature. At the same time, he condemns Nehru for going back upon agreements entered into with the League, in 1937 and again in 1946. He reveals how (largely at the instigation of Sardar Patel) the Congress leaders arranged that a Muslim Leaguer should be offered the portfolio of Finance in the interim government, so that he should 'make a fool of himself' (p. 166). In fact, the League Finance Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, turned the tables upon his Congress colleagues.

Azad, as a staunch Nationalist Muslim opposed the idea of Pakistan to the end. He would have us believe that Lord Mountbatten was sent to India as Viceroy with the express purpose of «selling» the Pakistan solution to the Congress. Patel, we are told, was persuaded because he despaired of working harmoniously with Liaqat Ali as Finance Minister; Nehru agreed because Lady Mountbatten charmed him into agreement; and Gandhi gave way because the other two had already been persuaded ! It is true that elsewhere Azad shows up the Congress leaders as political opportunists. But it is difficult to believe that they abandoned lifelong convictions so weakly.

Perhaps, under stress, the Congress leaders found themselves at odds with their ideologies. Gandhi had based his political action in *Satyagraha,* 'soul force' (literally, sacrifice-firmness). On numerous occasions from 1922 to 1942 he had found to his dismay that his mass-following were unable to understand and practice *satyagraha.* It was a force that could be used to great effect by the dedicated few, but not by the ignorant many.

(9) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom.* Calcutta, Longmans, 1959, XII-252 p.

Even Gandhi's political heir, Nehru, was not a whole-hearted believer in the doctrine. We find Nehru writing to Gandhi: 'For myself, I delight in warfare. It makes me feel that I am alive' ([10]). Hence, Congress was always oscillating between moral force and physical force, which was contrary to Gandhian teaching. Violence was always being stirred up by Congress actions; but the liberal strain in their ideology checked the Congress leaders from ruthlessly exploiting violence; they held back from the consequences of their actions. Hence, paradoxically, the British administration was always able to suppress outbreaks of mob violence; yet, at the same period, British public opinion was gradually submitting to the moral persuasion of Gandhi, which created the impression that alien overlordship in India was no longer morally justifiable. *Satyagraha* had triumphed: yet in the hour of crisis, Congress could not invoke *satyagraha* as a mass instrument. Neither could it call upon the weapon of violence. Moreover, though Nehru believed himself to be a revolutionary, when the challenge came he was not prepared to adopt revolutionary measures: it was the liberal in him which suppervened. He placed himself at the head of the reformers, the moderates, and accepted self-government upon terms laid down by the British government: and the Muslim League ([11]) For-again it is a paradox- when the crisis came, Jinnah, the constitutional lawyer the lifelong negotiator, was prepared to say «The death of ten million Muslims is not too great a price to pay for Pakistan». In the last resort Nehru was the prisoner of his liberal humanism; Jinnah was ready to throw away his liberalism and rely upon Islamic fatalism.

This, then is the interpretation of the puzzling events of 1946-7 which this writer puts forward. It remains only a hy-

([10]) Quoted by Michael Brecher, op.cit., p. 159.

([11]) Speaking in the Constituent Assembly in 1949, Sardar Patel claimed that he had demanded as the price of Congress agreement to Partition, first, that Britain should withdraw from India within two months, and second, that Britain would give Congress a free hand in settling the future of the Princely States. This claim has never (within this writer's knowledge) been repeated elsewhere. Azad specifically states that the decision to speed up the transfer of power was that of Mountbatten alone. Op.cit., p. 199.

pothesis. Perhaps,within a few years, the confidential documents of the negotiations which preceded independence will be opened up for scholarly investigation, and it may be possible then to complete the story. On the other hand, it may be found that no final interpretation can be construed from the documents: so much was decided by private consultation and unofficial dealing and was never recorded in official minutes. We do know of one example: Jinnah never formally accepted the Mountbatten plan for partition on behalf of the Muslim League. He only nodded his head in silence at the crucial moment in the negotiations [12]. Pascal bade us consider Cleopatra's nose as a factor in history; future scholars may be compelled to try to assess the historical consequences of Jinnah's nod.

With the attainment of independence, the first important national task was the drafting of a constitution. This has attracted a copious literature: studies of the constitution are still appearing. This concentration of attention upon the formal structure of gouvernment follows an established British scholarly convention. Such writers as Arthur Berriedale Keith and Sir Reginald Coupland (the first an academic lawyer, the second an historian) had studied Indian political development largely in terms of constitution-making, and Indian professors adopted the same pattern without question. Out of this library of constitutional studies, it will perhaps be sufficient to notice two works only.

The greatest responsibility for drafting the new constitution rested upon Sir B. N. Rau, Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, 1946-9. A posthumous collection of his papers has been made by B. Shiva Rao ([13]). Sir B. N. Rau (who later became a member of the International Court of justice at the Hague) was a jurist of the highest calibre. He carefully scrutinised all possible precedents for the Indian constitution, which has both federal and unitary features. He was infused by a concept of citizenship broader than that of nationality. He laboured to keep India within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and he envisaged

([12]) V. P. Menon, op.cit., pp. 376-7.

([13]) Sir B. N. Rau, *India's Constitution in the Making*. Ed. by Rao, B. Shiva. Calcutta, Longmans, 1960, LXX-510 p.

even wider concepts of international citizenship. Thanks to Rau, the Indian constitution has provided a firm framework for parliamentary democracy. Probably the best commentary upon the constitution is that of Alan Gledhill, a former High Court Judge in British Burma, and now Professor of Oriental Laws in the University of London ([14]). Besides providing a lucid exposition of the 395 Articles and 9 Schedules which make up the longest constitution in the world, Professor Gledhill provides many interesting *aperçus* into its implications. Clearly, a system of government in an early stage of growth is greatly affected by the nature of those who are the first office-holders. In India, Nehru has been Prime Minister since independence: like a prince and priest in the eyes of his people, he has dominated parliament and the nation as no Western statesman has done: not even General De Gaulle. During these years, the office of President has been filled by the modest, pious Dr Rajenedra Prasad. This personal juxtaposition has caused most observers to regard the Prime Minister as the fulcrum of government in India, with the President solely a ceremonial Head of State. However, Professor Gledhill demonstrates that a considerable reserve of power has been entrusted to the President. So far, these plenary powers have been exercised only at the request of the Prime Minister and Cabinet: the most notable occasions being the termination of the State governments in East Punjab, Andhra, and Kerala. Before much longer we may see a change in the balance of power. Nehru may be followed by a Prime Minister who is not a commanding personality, and who lacks his overwhelming support in parliament and the nation. Dr Prasad's successor might be a President who believes he is required to actively supervise the affairs of the nation, and perhaps, in the event of a parliamentary deadlock, actually assume charge of affairs. In such a situation, the roles of Prime Minister and President could be as decisively reversed as they were between the Fourth and Fifth Republics in France.

Meanwhile, parliamentary government in India remains uni-

([14]) Alan GLEDHILL, *The Republic of India.* London, Stevens, 1952, XII-309 p.

que in Asia. As late as 1930, the Simon Report declared that it was 'a difficult and delicate operation to transplant to India forms of government which are native to British soil'. Today, there are good reasons for believing that the plant has really taken root. A comprehensive study of parliament, its composition, machinery, rules, and actual working, has been made by W. H. Morris-Jones, Professor of Political Theory and Institutions at Durham University ([15]). His book takes account of parliamentary activities up to 1954. In subsequent years, Professor Morris-Jones has slightly modified his views and would probably now accord more importance to extraparliamentary forces. The concept of parliament in India as the central organ of government, has been challenged by American political scientists as a 'formalistic' fallacy. They are inclined to dismiss parliament as little more than a sounding-board for Nehru and his associates ([16]). If we need to modify our assessment of the role of parliament in Indian politics this is not because of any inherent defect in the Indian operation of the institution. Parliamentary government everywhere is increasingly confounded by the growing technical complexity of our age, the acceleration of tempo in every kind of process, and by the tendency of govern-

([15]) W. H. Morris-Jones, *Parliament in India*. London, Longmans, 1957, XII-417 p.

([16]) See, for example, *Decision Making in the Indian Parliament* by N. D. Palmer and I. Tinker in *Leadership and Political Institutions in India* (q.v.). The views of these critics would carry more weight if they clearly understood the role of the British Parliament which they cite in contrast as the 'ideal' (p. 115), for that in India. They assert that parliament 'is the major agency for decision making' in a parliamentary democracy (p. 134). This is a purely 'formalistic' interpretation ! In the British parliament, the majority party provides the government and controls policy; but the majority party in turn has to accept the leadership of the Cabinet, and in a weak Cabinet this means the leadership of the Prime Minister. Even by constitutional convention, the most vital 'decision making' is out of parliament's control: the declaration of a state of war, the dissolution of parliament itself, are decisions taken by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister. And in less momentous decisions parliament can only follow the lead of the Prime Minister: for example, in the question of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community.

ment to become ever more involved in economic production, and social welfare. Parliament is not easily adapted to these conditions. In addition, in India, parliament and the parties are having to adjust to a shift in the locus of political activity- a shift from a national debate down into a scuffle concerned with language, religion, caste, and class. The surprising aspect of the record of parliament in India is that it has functioned so well amid these pressures !

Morris-Jones shows how the procedure of parliament has already acquired its own usages, at New Delhi and in most of the States. Westminster practices haves been successfully assimilated, while India has evolved useful parliamentary techniques of her own, such as the Half Hour Discussion Rule, whereby private members may raise issues after normal business. The Delegated Legislation Committee, and the Assurances Committee (which Morris-Jones does not consider) are other means designed to permit the private member to keep the actions of the executive under surveillance. The tone of parliament is dignified and decorous, and in the minds of politically-conscious Indians it forms the Concourse of the Nation. At certain moments (for example, after the Communist invasion of Tibet) when Nehru's government has failed to gauge the mood of the nation accurately, parliament has spoken up as the voice of the nation's conscience. This is parliament's prime function: to provide a forum for discussion, for the declaration of aspirations, and for inquiry into discontents. There has been no great dialectical contest at New Delhi to compare with the slavery debates at Washington in the 1850's or the interminable dispute at Westminster over Irish Home Rule. This largely reflects the Indian sense that public opinion should be formed within a circle of agreement, rather than by aligning two sides in opposition. In almost every discussion upon the conduct of public affairs in India, the speakers will emphasise the importance of seeking unanimity. This concept has been called *Sarvodaya,* or the general good, and has been adopted as the essential basis of the political philosophy of Jayaprakash Narayan and his associates. Within such a system of belief it is not surprising that the party system has not established itself in popular esteem, and there is no organ-

ised opposition, such as the Anglo-American idea of democracy considers essential.

While the concept of unanimity provides the ideal which should be pursued in all forms of public activity, the lower levels of politics have witnessed a sharpening of lines of conflict. The dominant issue has been that of language. Overall, there ist the controversy over the national language, Hindi, which is particulary resented by the peoples of the south and of Bengal. Then there is the question of regional languages. In 1956, the Nehru government accepted the principle of linguistic States, and the State boundaries were largely redrawn. There was an attempt to perpetuate one bilingual State, Bombay (largely because of the special position of Bombay city) but unrest continued, and in 1960 this State was bisected into Gujerat and Maharashtra. Even this division did not end all agitation. Once the linguistic principle is accepted, it appears to led loose endless demands for bifurcation. In Punjab, Assam, and other States, the language agitation festers on, the cause of bitterness and violence.

The infrastructure of Indian politics has only recently become a field for academic study ([17]). British and Indian scholars have focussed their attention upon the apex of the political pyramid: Morris-Jones' book is the last major work in this tradition. A systematic study of the base has had to await the American entry into Indian political studies. The literature of American political science and sociology is much taken up with the inside and underside of politics: 'the grass roots', and the 'smoke filled room', are phrases which epitomise this approach. Its application to India within the last year or so has initiated something of an academic revolution. The first notable American contribution was *Leadership and Political Institutions in India* ([18]) a symposium which had its origins in a seminar organised by the *Modern India Project* of the University of California, Berkely. The 29

([17]) The present writer was a pioneer in this field: see H. Tinker, *Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan, and Burma.* University of London, The Athlone Press, 1954, XXIV-376 p.

([18]) *Leadership and Political Institutions in India.* Eds. R. L. Park and I. Tinker. Princeton University Press, 1959, X-486 p.

papers are grouped into 8 sections which consider Traditions of Leadership, Personality and Leadership, Political Institutions, Political Parties, Influence Groups, Public Administration, Rural Development and Administration, and Leadership and Change in the Village. The last three sections are those which contribute most to a new understanding of Indian politics. The section on Public Administration includes a study of the National Planning Commission. This body- which is virtually independent of parliament- forms (in the words of the Auditor General of India) 'the Economic Cabinet not merely for the Union but also for the States'. By means of the Five Year Plans it is able to shape a national economic, social, and political philosophy. For example, it can determine what proportion of new industry shall be allotted to public corporations and what to private enterprise. The direction of industry towards individual States is also under its control. This body has no counterpart in any Western democratic country. Also in this section, the changing role of the public services in the present transition period between bureaucratic and popular rule is considered. The implications of the uneasy triangle of relationships between civil servants, the public, and the politicians are explored. The attemp to graft a system of local selfgovernment on to India's tradition of autocracy is another aspect of political change which is examined. The following section on Rural Development surveys the massive Community Development programme, under which the 500,000 villages of India are gradually being associated with plans for rural reconstruction ([19]). The final section on village life affords a somewhat gloomy impression of the remoteness of the village folk from the functioning of the new democracy. It becomes evident that the forces of caste and faction are nowhere declining. Rather, men are becoming more conscious of their caste-ties. The lower castes attempt to raise themselves up the social ladder not by individual effort but by joint caste action; similarly, the upper castes band together to resist the advance of these upstarts.

([19]) By May 1961, the Community Development Programme had reached, to some extent, 368,200 villages with a population of 203 million.

There is an obvious lacuna in *Leadership and Political Institutions in India:* the all-important area of States politics. This gap is filled by a work which is perhaps the most significant individual contribution to Indian studies since independence: *India, the Most Dangerous Decades,* by Selig S. Harrison ([20]). The author spent three years as a journalist in South Asia ([21]). He examines, dispassionately, a problem which even today it is difficult to broach without being accused of bias: the question whether India is heading towards unification or disintegration ?

Mr Harrison begins with a historical survey; he examines the geographical features which have isolated the various regions of the subcontinent, the multiplication of languages and dialects which resulted, and the regional myths and legends which have been perpetuated, making for local pride, and contempt for adjacent peoples. Next, he contrasts the English-speaking middle class, which came forward in the Nineteenth Century, with the emergent *petit bourgeois* 'regional elites', which resulted from the revival of regional languages and literatures, and which now dominate State politics and government. The politics of language are accompanied by the politics of caste; especially in south India. Certain local political parties have been formed on a caste and tribe basis, such as the Virashaiva Mahasabha of the Lingayats, and the Jharkand Party of the Adibasis or aboriginals of Bihar. More often, the caste lobbies take over the main parties at the State level and manipulate them in the caste interest. A striking example is found in Andhra in the caste conflict between the Kammas and Reddis: these competing castes have taken over Congress and the Communist Party for their own platforms. Mr Harrison makes a special study of Communist policy in relation to regionalism. and attempts to estimate how far the Communists have succeeded in exploiting language and caste, and how far mis-

([20]) Selig S. Harrison, *India, the Most Dangerous Decades.* Princeton University Press, 1960, X-350 p.

([21]) A weakness of many recent American political and sociological studies is their authors' lack of that understanding which comes only from long residence in their special area. Few have serious language qualifications, and there is a heavy reliance on informants and translators.

judgement of these factors has had repercussions upon the Party. He decides: 'Indian Communism will not, by itself, provide a pan-Indian alternative to the Congress Party. Indian Communism is a loose federation of regional units that have succeeded, where they have in fact succeeded, only on regional grounds... The pattern of failure, too, corresponds to regions in which rivals have monopolished regional patriotism. With its strength dispersed in scattered regional strongholds, Indian Communism seems committed by its past to a separatist future' (p. 178). Harrison sees the separatist movements in South India as the main potential instruments of Communist strategy. He underlines the identification of the national language, Hindi, with the national party (Congress, and both with the great northern State, Uttar Pradesh. Fear of 'Hindi Imperialism' is a potent force in rallying the separatists: and the Hindi speakers form only 30 per cent of India's total population. Mr Harrison is not optimistic in his assessment of the chances of the Indian Union surviving under its present form of government. He considers that centralised control is unlikely to be enforced by democratic processes; the alternative seems to be unity enforced by totalitarian rule, or democracy and decentralisation.

The role of the Communist Party in this situation is, of course, crucial. Harrison is far from accepting the usual picture of the Party as an irresistible Juggernaut. Will the caste system and the Hindu outlook act as solvents which will reshape Communism into an Indian mould, as Hinduism has largely accepted and assimilated conquest by Islamic Central Asia, and Christian Britain ? Or will Communism rise to power on a wave of social discontent and economic distress ? A full-scale inquiry has been conducted by two American political scientist, Gene D. Overstreet and Marshal Windmiller in their opus *Communism in India* ([22]). They first trace the historical development of Indian Communism before independence. Far from being the monolithic proletarian movement which is so frequently depicted, the nascent C. P. I. was a slender, scattered coterie of intel-

([22]) Gene D. Overstreet & Marshal Windmiller, *Communism in India*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959, XIV-603 p.

lectuals, drawing its nourishment entirely from abroad and without 'grass roots'. M. N. Roy, its leader, was an emigré, and almost all directives came from the International, or from the British Communist Party ([23]). Communism made its first important advance during the years 1942-5, when the Congress was inactive. The Communists came out in support of the British Government in the 'People's War', and under the cloak of official toleration increased their membership from 5,000 in 1942 to 53,000 in 1945. After independence, the twists and turns of policy and practice became even more tortuous. The C. P. I. was inactive. The Communists came out in support of the Russian influence remained paramount, and the policy of Mao Tse-Tung was at first repudiated, and then belatedly accepted. The policy of insurrection or guerrilla war was in turn discarded for constitutional methods. These reversals were accompanied by the familiar party purges and public self-criticism. Russian policy, which at one time labelled Nehru as a 'running dog' of Imperialism, veered to the adulation of Nehru, the statesman of world peace: this did not help the C. P. I., but their greatest shock came with the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the later incursions over the Sino-Indian border. Communist successes have owed much less to successful propaganda and organisation on an all-India basis than to the exploitation of local discontents. The authors describe how the Communist policy of a 'multi-national' India emerged. As early as 1940, the communists endorsed the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, and in 1942 the existence of 16 'nations' (i. e. language groups) in India was recognised. By 1950, the C. P. I. had decided to oppose the introduction of Hindi as the national language, and at every opportunity supported the regional languages. Overstreet and Windmiller brought their study to an end just as the Communist government in Kerala was taking office. They were not, therefore, able to analyse this most interesting sector of the struggle. They were only able to speculate on the possibility of the Party discarding the dogma

([23]) The «Imperialist» relationship of French, Dutch, and British Communists with their comrades in their countries' own colonies is one of the curiosities of Communist technique.

which (in their view) has restricted progress like a straitjacket. They end up with this observation on the C.P.I.: 'Up to now, its nature has been more Communist than Indian. But it has shown some flexibility and adaptability — especially in the realm of tactics. Should it become even a little more Indian, it will be truly a force to be reckoned with'.

Among recent Indian writings upon politics and government, the work of Dr. A. R. Desai of the Department of Sociology in the University of Bombay deserves attention. His ideas are placed firmly in a conceptual framework; he sees the rise of nationalism as a phenomenon in causal relationship to economic and social forces. In his attempt to create a framework for Indian political studies, it is unfortunate that Dr Desai employs a crude Marxian interpretation of history. He is very far from being a Communist, but like so many Asian intellectuals his thought is confined within Marxian dialectical materialism. We find him arguing in his best known book, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism,* ([24]) that Indian nationalism did not grow out of the influence of Western education, but was 'the outcome of the new social material conditions created... as a result of the British conquest... The movement arose out of the conflict of British and Indian interests in the economic and other spheres' (p. 145). His Marxian basis leads him to introduce into his account of the rise of new classes in India during and after the Nineteenth Century a section on 'peasant movements' and 'peasant revolts'. Now, there is no feature of Indian life more striking than the peasants' immobility; call it apathy or call it resignation. Perhaps the most horrifying feature of the great Bengal famine of 1943 was the patient acceptance with which the peasants met starvation, knowing that within the village grain shop lay sacks of foodgrains. It is this attitude of acquiescence which forms the greatest barrier to the successful promotion of the Community Development schemes for village self-help. It is this same acquiescence which stultifies the efforts of Communist workers to stimulate revolutionary fervour. Yet Desai sees the

([24]) Dr. A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism.* Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1959, 3rd ed., XX-427 p.

peasants as a dynamic force. Looking at the effect of social and economic change on group loyalties, he discerns the emergence of what he calls a 'national bourgeoisie' and a 'national proletariat'. While it is certain that local isolation has been broken down by improved communications and other changes, we have seen that the growth of an all-India consciousness has been restricted to the Anglicised upper middle class. Desai's concentration upon economic motivation leads him to discern 'a peculiarity of the Indian nationalist movement' in that the bourgeoisie 'exhibited compromising tendencies and desired for [sic] a settlement with the ruling Imperialism. This was due to the fact that the Indian bourgeoisie was interlocked with reactionary landlord and moneylending classes in the country, was dependent, due to its economic weakness, on the British finance capital and was afraid of the growing dimension of the mass movement interpreting it as a danger to its own interest... Such a spectacle unfolded the perspective of the Indian nationalist movement culminating in a non-bourgeois victory of the national forces and of a path of socialist development in the post-independence phase' (pp. 356-7). It is clear that, at the time he wrote these words, Desai expected this victory to follow shortly. However, his views were somewhat modified in a sequel, *Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism* ([25]). Again, the central theme can be summarised in one passage: 'Only socialism can end the present crisis of the Indian society. It alone can... advance the Indian people on the road of a still higher socialist material and cultural existence' (p. 138). Desai explains the enigma of the Congress capitulation to the Partition of India in the terms of the «timid and compromising» character of Indian capitalism: 'Afraid of the masses, it dared not organise revolutionary mass movements' (p. 53). Desai accuses the Congress of lacking any original thinking about forms of government; he argues that at all periods the bourgeois Congress leaders have been content to imitate British political models. India today is a capitalist country, he insists; and the complex apparatus of planning, and the public

([25]) Dr. A. R. Desai, *Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism*. Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1960, XII-149 p.

ownership of industry, power resources, etc., is merely a means of buttressing capitalism; 'the state's active participation in the national economy has become indispensable for preserving the capitalist system in the present epoch of monopoly capitalism' (p. 79). In the field of agriculture, Desai finds that capitalist interests are again paramount. The so-called abolition of *zamindari* (landlordism) has only led to the creation of a class of substantial farmers: 'So far as the poor and middle peasantry are concerned, the working out of the agrarian policy together with other programmes has... even resulted in the further deterioration of [their] conditions' (p. 95-6). All these arguments deserve our earnest consideration, particularly concerning agriculture. We may accept the good intentions of the Congress governments in abolishing *zamindari,* but the main consequence is the further depression of the lower classes, which Desai describes.

If the main politico-economic argument is identical with that in the earlier book, Desai's views on the growth of national feeling have been modified. In his definition of nationality, Desai falls back on the accepted Communist position: nationality is equated with the regional language groups. «Each nationality area» is a linguistic region; of a higher, Indian nationalism he has nothing to say.

In his conclusion, Dr. Desai states 'Much as we dislike to make such a prognosis, the actual process of development (or decline) of the Indian society from year to year unfolds such a gloomy prospect. Under capitalism it is not possible to liquidate mass poverty, mass unemployment, mass illiteracy and mass ignorance' (p. 137). A great many people have been working to contravert this prediction. The accent is usually placed upon democracy, rather than capitalism, as the cause which is at stake. India is a democracy: the 'shop window' of democracy in Asia, publicists say. But India is also miserably poor: income per capita today is only Rs. 280 (U.S. $ 60) per annum. Unless India can raise the standard of living of the great mass of the poor, then they will abandon their faith in democracy. But can India achieve a significant increase in national income by the methods of a free society? Can a peasant, agricultural population develop better methods of pro-

duction voluntarily — by encouragement and exhortation — or is the Communist technique of mass compulsion and direction the only way to achieve the 'great leap forward' ? In this predicament, should not the wealthy nations of the West provide economic aid to assist the Indian economy to reach the point of 'take off into self-sustained growth' ? ([26]) The argument that democracy in Asia can become well-established only if it is seen to be capable of 'delivering the goods' in material terms is one that has distinguished advocates: among them the bankers' mission which visited India in 1960 — Sir Oliver Franks, Mr Allan Sproul, and Dr Hermann Abs. The present writer is not prepared to accept all the implications of this materialist argument, which appears to be merely the capitalist counterpart to the promises of Communism. The peoples of Asia are today searching for something more than full stomachs. At the same time, one cannot deny that democracy and an empty stomach are not enough. Nehru has sensed all this: he has said 'Political freedom under economic pressure is very limited freedom... how can creativeness come out of hunger and poverty, even though a man has got a vote ?... I believe in democracy and democratic institutions... But again, in the final analysis, you come back not to political terms, not to economic terms, but to some human terms or, if you like, spiritual terms. We want to produce a good life, a good individual' ([27]).

An author whose ideas are much in accord with these beliefs, and who has become increasingly the champion of economic aid to underdeveloped countries as a means of upholding the 'Free World' is Barbara Ward. Her views are well expressed in a number of books; the most relevant to this study being *India and the West* ([28]).

([26]) The concept of the «take off into self-sustained growth» is the creation of Professor W. W. Rostow, and his theory has had a great influence on the Second Five Year Plan in India.

([27]) See Jawarhalal Nehru, *Future of Asian Democracy*. New Delhi, Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, 1959, pp. 5-8.

([28]) Barbara Ward, *India and the West*. London, Hamish Hamilton, 1961, 247 p.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, called 'The Revolution of Economic Growth', traces the changes which led to the industrial revolution in the West, and the subsequent impact of the West upon world patterns of trade and production. The second part is somewhat inexactly called 'The Indian Plans'. Three chapters are devoted to a survey of the transformation of India under British rule. The author characterises British policy and practice as *laisser faire*; this is a widely-accepted proposition, but it does not represent the facts. The creation of a system of communications (the essential prerequisite for «take off») was the work of the British Government. First, trunk roads were driven across the subcontinent; then came the railways, mainly financed by public loans and grants, and operated under public control. The legacy which was handed on to independent India is thus described in the First Five Year Plan: 'The Indian railway system is the largest nationalised undertaking in the country. It is one of the few railway systems in the world with a net earning power adequate to meet all fixed charges and provide substantial sums for development and reserves'. The second great economic asset created by government initiative was the massive irrigation system which dwarfs such rivals as the Tennessee Valley Authority, or the canals of Egypt. Over 25 million acres of arid semi-desert were brought into fruitful cultivation. These schemes brought prosperity and higher living standards to some provinces (such as Punjab), but overall there was no great improvement. The rise in production was largely absorbed by the swelling population: between 1881 and 1931, the population rose from 248 million to 338 million.

If earlier methods did little more than maintain an equilibrium between rising population and production, can the planned expansion of the present day do better? In her next three chapters, the author provides a concise account of the genesis of Indian planning and its first results. Like most observers she is impressed by achievements in industry, but dismayed by the record of agriculture: still the occupation of three-quarters of India. She puts her finger on one vital cause; agriculture is still associated with backwardness; industry and

commerce with progress in the minds of every kind of Indian. The lively village lad, the college student, the civil servant, the politician: all want to turn their backs on the village, once described by Dr. Ambedkar, the untouchables' leader as 'A sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness, and communalism'. So long as this attitude prevails, it is hard to see how any radical change can take place in the village or in peasant agriculture. Is the only solution the rise of a class of *kulak* farmers, with the inevitable further depression of the smaller peasantry? To these questions, Miss Ward does not attempt to supply answers. She returns to the larger problems of planning and capital investment. Looking at the Third plan, now just coming into operation, she tells us that India needs about 5,500 million in foreign exchange, over and above internal resources. The last part of the book, 'Challenge to the West', is concerned to show why these millions should be provided out of foreign aid. It is the duty of Britain, and other Western nations which (as it were) launched countries like India into the modern world to make certain that they are properly equipped for their voyage. Readers of this journal are unlikely to deny the appeal which Miss Ward makes in the name of humanity and Christian justice. Economic aid should certainly be made available on a scale which will contribute to a measurable increase in standards of living in India and similar countries struggling on the edge of survival. But it is naive to imagine that foreign aid, however generous, is the solution to the problem. The fundamental problem is that of change within Indian society. We have, in this survey, taken note of some of the forces which must be dissolved if Indian society is to become really dynamic: such forces as regional and linguistic particularism, caste and class obscurantism. These are problems which no external influence can resolve.

It is so generally assumed that the future of India depends upon the internal responses to the political experiment of democracy, and the economic experiment of planning and pressurised industrialisation, that we are apt to forget that the course of events may be shattered by pressures from outside India. The uneasy relationship with Pakistan has had recurrent

internal consequences; but this external threat has been totally eclipsed by the enigma of China's intentions along her southern border.

Diplomatic relations oscillated from pole to pole between the years 1954 and 1959. In April 1954, a Sino-Indian treaty on Tibet was negotiated. This included a statement of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence, sometimes called Panch Shila. Under this treaty, India acknowledged Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, and the special position which British-India had acquired in southern Tibet came to an end. The flight of the Dalai Lama and thousands of his countrymen over the Indian border in March 1959 put a severe strain on the Co-Existence spirit. It became clear that China was becoming more active in the border area. Relations reached boiling point with a Chinese attack on an Indian frontier post at Longju in August 1959, followed in October by the ambush of a border patrol in Ladakh or 'Little Tibet' in which nine Indians were killed and ten taken prisoner. Since this time, the cold war has held the Himalayan borderlands in its icy grip. Is China reasserting what she takes to be her historic rights in an area from which China claims to have received periodical «tribute» in the past ? Or is China eroding India's borderlands as the first stage in a career of conquest ? One writer who is convinced that 'Han Imperialism' is on the march is Frank Moreas, the outspoken editor of the *Express* group of newspapers in India. *The Revolt in Tibet* ([29]) is a vigorous account of the Chinese invasion of Tibet which, he believes, is the prelude to the Chinese penetration of South East Asia and the overthrow of democratic government in India. Even if these fears are unduly alarmist, if the Indian Government is compelled to devote an even larger proportion of the meagre national resources to defence, and to clamp down on internal opposition for fear of subversion, then the prospects for democracy and for social welfare and development are shadowy indeed.

It will not have escaped the reader that all the books cited in this article are in the English language (though their authors

([29]) Frank Moraes, *The Revolt in Tibet*. New York, Macmillan, 1960, 223 p.

belong to several nationalities). This may appear unworthy of a journal dedicated to international co-operation, but in truth, within the field of Indian Nationalism, the choice of works in other European languages is small. There are some general studies of independent India in French and German ([30]), but the particular contribution of scholars of continental Europe to Indian studies has been in the field of anthropology, philosophy, and religion. As the author of a delightful introductory essay wittely observes: 'Par quelle fatalité ne parle-t-on plus de l'Inde, en France et ailleurs, depuis quelques années, que les yeux levés au ciel ?' ([31]). There is a great need for students of politics and economics from continental Europe to turn their attention to India, both in the spheres of academic and of practical assistance.

It is the central thesis of this survey that the most significant development in India since independence is the rise of regional, linguistic nationalism, at odds with the Westernised, all-India nationalism which formerly occupied the political stage; further, that the most significant academic development has been the growth of studies of the infra-structure of Indian politics and society. This survey of Events and Trends may, perhaps, be most usefully brought to a close by mentioning two works in this genre which will appear shortly. From the Commonwealth Studies Center of Duke University, North Carolina, will be issued a volume of essays edited by Joseph J. Spengler and Ralph Braibanti, *Problems in Administration and Development in India*. Publication will be in January 1962. The common theme of the contributors will be political, social, and economic implications of Community Development. From the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University will come a volume entitled *Politics and Society in South Asia,* edited by C. H. Philips. This will contain some ten studies of the interaction of politics, social forces, and institutions of government.

([30]) For example, Father Yvon, *Le drame de l'Indépendance Indienne*. Paris, Flammarion, 1952, 361 p. Heinrich Gutersohn, *Indien, eine Nation im Werden*. Berne, Kümmerly & Frey, 1953, 255 p.

([31]) Madeleine Biardeau, *Inde*. Bourges, Editions du Seuil, 1958, p. 5.

It will appear early in 1962. It is to be hoped that the Indian universities will also embark upon studies of this nature. Case studies in local and regional politics appear to provide a field which the growing numbers of regional universities are specially equipped to enter.

A Document

AN EXTRACT FROM THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER 'MATER ET MAGISTRA' OF POPE JOHN XXIII

Action to bring equality and to encourage the advancement of underdeveloped regions

Among citizens of the same political community there often exists a marked economic and social inequality due for the most part to the fact that some live and work in areas that are economically more developed, while others live and work in areas that are economically underdeveloped. When this situation obtains, justice and equity demand that the public authorities should try to eliminate or reduce such inequality. To accomplish this end the public authorities should see to it that in the underdeveloped areas there exist assured essential public services, which should be of the kind and extent suggested or required by the surroundings and which should usually correspond to the average standard of life that obtains in the national community. Furthermore, it is necessary to develop a suitable economic and social policy regarding the supply of labor and the dislocation of population, wages, taxes, interest and investments, with special attention to expanding industries. In short, there should be a policy capable of promoting complete employment of the labor force, of stimulating enterprising initiative and of exploiting the natural resources of the place.

But governmental action along these lines must always be justified by the demands of the common good, which requires that all three areas of production — agriculture, industry, and public services — be developed gradually, simultaneously and harmoniously in order to obtain unity on the national level. Special effort must be made that the citizens of the less developed regions take an active part, insofar as circumstances allow, in their economic betterment.

Finally, it is necessary to remember that even private enterprise must contribute to effecting an economic and social balance among the different zones of the same country. And indeed public authori-

ties, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, must encourage and help private enterprise, entrusting to it, as far as efficiently possible, the continuation of the economic development.

Elimination or reduction of unbalance between land and population

It is not out of place to remark here that there are not a few countries where a gross disproportion between land and population exists. In some countries there is a scarcity of population and tillable land abounds. In others, on the other hand, the population is large, while arable land is scarce.

Furthermore, there are some countries where, in spite of rich natural resources, not enough food is produced to feed the population because of primitive methods of agriculture. On the other hand, in some countries, on account of modern methods of agriculture, food surpluses have become an economic problem.

It is obvious that the solidarity of the human race and Christian brotherhood demand that an active and manifold cooperation be established among the peoples of the world. They demand a cooperation which permits and encourages the movement of goods, capital, and men, with a view to eliminate or reduce the above mentioned unbalance. Later on, We shall treat this point in more detail.

Here, however, We should like to express Our sincere appreciation for the highly beneficial work which the United Nations, Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.) is undertaking to establish fruitful accord among nations, to promote the modernization of agriculture, especially in countries in the process of development, and to alleviate the suffering of hunger-stricken peoples.

DEMANDS OF JUSTICE IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONS DIFFERING IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Problem of the modern world

Probably the most difficult problem of the modern world concerns the relationship between political communities that are economically advanced and those in the process of development. The standard of living is high in the former, while in the latter countries poverty, and in some cases extreme poverty exists. The solidarity which binds

all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person. This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persists.

Mindful of Our role of Universal Father, We feel obliged to stress solemnly what We have stated in another connection: 'We are all equally responsible for te undernourished peoples... (1) Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods'.

It is obvious that the obligation to help those who find themselves in want and misery, which the Church has always taught, should be felt more strongly by Catholics, who find a most noble motive in the fact that we are all members of Christ's Mystical Body. John the Apostle, said: 'In this we have known the charity of God, because He hath laid Down His life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. He that hath the substance of this world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him: How doth the charity of God abide in him ?' (2).

We therefore see with satisfaction that those political communities enjoying high economic standards are providing assistance to political communities in the process of economic development in order that they may succeed in raising their standards of living.

Emergency assistance

There are countries which produce consumer goods and especially farm products in excess, while in other countries large segments of the population suffer from misery and hunger. Justice and humanity demand that the former come to the aid of the latter. To destroy or to squander goods that other people need in order to live is to offend against justice and humanity.

(1) Allocutio, habita die 3 maü anno MDCCCCLX, cfr. A.A.S., L II, 1960, p. 465.

(2) I Ioann. III, 16-17.

While it is true that to produce goods, especially agricultural products, in excess of the needs of the political community can cause economic harm to a certain portion of the population, this is not a motive for exonerating oneself from the obligation of extending emergency aid to the indigent and hungry. Rather, all ingenuity should be used to obtain the negative effects deriving from surplus goods, or at least to make the entire population equally share the burden.

Scientific, technical and financial cooperation

Emergency aid, although a duty imposed by humanity and justice, is not enough to eliminate or even to reduce the causes which in not a few political communities bring about a permanent state of want, misery, and hunger. These causes flow, for the most part, from the primitiveness or backwardness of their economic systems. And this cannot be remedied except by means of varied forms of cooperation directed to making these citizens acquire new outlooks, professional qualifications and scientific and technical competence. This cooperation must also consist of putting at their disposal the necessary capital to start and to speed up their economic development with the help of modern methods.

We are well aware that in recent years the realization has grown and matured that efforts should be made to favor the economic development and social progress in the countries which face the greatest difficulties.

World and regional organizations, individual states, foundations and private societies offer to the above mentioned countries, in an increasing degree, their own technical cooperation in all productive spheres. And they multiply facilities for thousands of young people to study in the universities of the more developed countries and to acquire an up-to-date scientific, technical and professional formation. Meanwhile world banking institutes, single states and private persons furnish capital and give life, or help to give life, to an ever richer network of economic enterprises in the countries on the way to development. We are happy to profit by the present occasion to express Our sincere appreciation of such richly fruitful works. But We cannot excuse Ourselves from pointing out that the scientific, technical and economic cooperation between the economically developed political communities and those just beginning or on the way to development needs to be increased beyond the present

level. And it is Our hope that such a development will characterize their dealings during the next decades.

On this matter We consider some reflections and warnings opportune.

Avoiding the errors of the past

Wisdom demands that the political communities which are themselves in the initial stage or a little advanced in their economic development keep before their eyes the actual experiences of the already developed political communities.

More and better production corresponds to a rational need and is also an absolute necessity. However, it is no less necessary and conformalble to justice that the riches produced come to be equally distributed among all members of the political community. Hence an effort should be made to see that social progress proceeds at the same pace as economic development. This means that it be actuated, as far as possible, gradually and harmoniously in all productive sectors, in those of agriculture, industry, and services.

Respect for the characteristics of the individual communities

The political communities on the way towards economic development generally present their own unmistakable individuality, due either to their resources and the specific character of their own natural environment, or to their traditions, frequently abounding in human values, or to the typical quality of their own members.

The economically developed political communities, when lending their help, must recognize and respect this individuality and overcome the temptation to impose themselves by means of these works upon the community in the course of economic development.

Disinterested work

But the bigger temptation with which the economically developed political communities have to struggle is the temptation to profit from their technical and financial cooperation so as to influence the political situation of the less developed countries with a view to bringing about plans of world domination.

If this takes place, it must be explicitly declared that it would be a new form of colonialism, which, however cleverly disguised, would not for all that be less blameworthy than that from which many peoples have recently escaped and which would influence negatively their international relations, constituting a menace and danger to world peace.

And it is, therefore, indispensable and corresponds to the need of justice that the above mentioned technical and financial aid be given in sincere political disinterestedness, for the purpose of putting those communities on the way to economic development in a position to realize their own proper economic and social growth.

In such a way a precious contribution to the formation of a world community would be made, a community in which all members are subjects conscious of their own duties and rights, working on a basis of equality for the bringing about of the universal common good.

Respect for the hierarchy of values

Scientific and technical progress, economic development and the betterment of living conditions are certainly positive elements in a civilization. But we must remember that they are not nor can they be considered the supreme values, in comparison with which they are seen to be essentially instrumental in character.

It is with sadness that We point out that in the economically developed countries there are not a few persons in whom the consciousness of the hierarchy of values is weakened, dead or confused. That is, there are not a few persons in whom the spiritual values are neglected, forgotten and denied; while the progress of the sciences and technology, economic development and the material well-being are often fostered and proposed as the pre-eminent, and even elevated to the unique reason of life. This constitutes an insidious poison, and one of he most dangerous, in the help which the economically developed peoples can give to those on the way to development, those in whom ancient tradition has quite often preserved a living and operating consciousness of some of the most important human values.

To undermine this consciousness is essentially immoral. One must respect it and, where possible, clarify and develop it so that it will remain what it is: a foundation for true civilization.

The contribution of the church

The Church, as is known, is universal by divine right. And she is universal historically from the fact that she is present, or strives to be so, among all peoples.

The entrance of the Church among a people has always brought positive reactions in the social and economic fields, as history and experience show. The reason is that people on becoming Christian cannot but feel obliged to improve the institutions and the environment in the temporal order, whether to prevent these doing harm to the dignity of man or to eliminate or reduce the obstacles to the good and multiply the incentives and invitations to it.

Moreover, the Church, entering the life of the people, is not nor does she consider herself to be an institution which is imposed from outside. This is due to the fact that her presence is brought about by the rebirth or resurrection of each person in Christ. And he who is reborn or rises again in Christ never feels himself constrained from without. Indeed, he feels himself liberated in the deepest part of his being and thus open towards God. And whatever in him is of worth, whatever be its nature, is reaffirmed and ennobled.

Unity Trough Love

'The Church of Jesus Christ', as Our predecessor Pius XII wisely observes, 'is the repository of His wisdom; she is certainly too wise to discourage or belittle those peculiarities and differences which mark out one nation from another. It is quite legitimate for nations to treat those differences as a sacred inheritance and guard them at all costs. The Church aims at unity, a unity determined and kept alive by the supernatural love which should be actuating everybody. She does not aim at a uniformity which would only be external in its effects and would cramp the natural tendencies of the nations concerned. Every nation has its own genius, its own qualities springing from the hidden roots of its being. The wise development, the encouragement within limits, of that genius, those qualities, does no harm. And if a nation cares to take precautions, to lay down rules, for that end, it has the Church's approval. She is mother enough to befriend such projects with her prayers' ([3]). We notice with profound satisfaction how today also, the Catholic citizens of the countries moving towards economic development are not, as a rule, second to any in taking their part in the effort which their own countries are

([3]) Litt. Encycl. *Summi Pontificatus*; A.A.S., XXXI, 1939, pp. 428-429.

making to develop and raise themselves in the economic and social fields'.

Furthermore, Catholic citizens of the economically developed countries are multiplying their efforts to help and make more fruitful the work being done fore the communities still developing economically. Worthy of special consideration is the varied assistance that they increasingly give to students from the countries of Africa and Asia who are scattered throughout the universities of Europe and America, and the preparation of persons trained to go to the less developed countries in order to engage in technical and professional activity.

To these, Our beloved sons, who in every continent show forth the perennial vitality of the Church in promoting genuine progress and in giving life to civilization, We wish to join Our kind and paternal word of appreciation and encouragement.

POPULATION INCREASE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Lack of balance between population and means of sustenance

In recent years the problem concerning the relationship between population increase, economic development of the availability of the means of sustenance, whether on a world plane or as it confronts the economically developing political communities, is very much to the fore again.

On a worldwide scale, some observe that according to sufficiently reliable statistics, in a few decades the human family will reach a quite high figure, while economic development will proceed at a slower rate. From this they deduce that, if nothing is done in time to check the population flow, the lack of balance between the population and the food supply in the not too distant future will make itself felt acutely.

Insofar as this affects the political communities which are developing economically, still relying on statistical data, it is clear that the rapid spread of hygienic measures and of appropriate medical remedies will greatly reduce the death rate, especially among infants, while the birth rate, which in such countries is usually high, tends to remain more or less constant, at least for a considerable period of time. Therefore, the excess of births over deaths will notably increase, while the productive efficiency of the respective economic systems will not increase proportionately. Accordingly, an improvement in the standards of living in these developing political com-

munities is impossible. Indeed it is inevitable that things will get worse. Hence, to avoid a situation which will result in extreme hardship, there are those who would have recourse to drastic measures of birth control or prevention.

The terms of the problem

To tell the truth, considered on a world scale, the relationship between the population increase on the one hand and the economic development and availability of food supplies on the other, does not seem — at least for the moment and in the near future — to create a difficulty. In every case the elements from which one can draw sure conclusions are too uncertain and changeable.

Besides, God in His goodness and wisdom has diffused in nature inexhaustible resources and has given to man the intelligence and genius to create fit instruments to master it and to turn it to satisfy the needs and demands of life. Hence, the real solution of the problem is not to be found in expedients that offend the moral order established by God and which injure the very origin of human life, but in a renewed scientific and technical effort on the part of man to deepen and extend his dominion over nature. The progress of science and technology, already realized, opens up in this direction limitless horizons.

Proper Means

We realize that in certain areas and in the political communities of developing economies really serious problems and difficulties can and do present themselves, due to a deficient economic and social organization which does not offer living conditions proportionate to the rate of population increase and also to the fact that solidarity among peoples is not operative to a sufficient degree.

But even in such a hypothesis, We must immediately and clearly state that these problems must not be confronted and these difficulties are not to be overcome by having recourse to methods and means which are unworthy of man and which find their explanation only in an utterly materialistic concept of man himself and of his life.

The true solution is found only in economic development and in social progress which respects and promotes true human values, individual and social. It is to be found only in economic development and social progress that is brought about in a moral atmosphere, conformable to the dignity of man and to the immense value pos-

sessed by the life of a single human being, and in cooperation on a world scale, that permits and favors an ordered and fruitful interchange of useful knowledge, of capital and of manpower.

Respect for the laws of life

We must solemnly proclaim that human life is transmitted by means of the family, the family founded on marriage, one and indissoluble, raised for Christians to the dignity of a sacrament. The transmission of human life is entrusted by nature to a person and conscious act and, as such, is subject to all wise laws of God, laws which are inviolable and immutable and which are to be recognized and observed. Therefore, it is not permissible to use means and follow methods that can be licit for the transmission of plant or animal life.

Human life is sacred. From its very inception, the creative action of God is directly operative. By violating His laws, the Divine Majesty is offended, the individuals themselves and humanity degraded and likewise the community of which they are members is enfeebled.

Education toward a sense of responsibility

It is of the greatest importance that the new generations be brought up with an adequate cultural as well as religious formation. It is the duty and right of parents to obtain this formation which leads to a profound sense of responsibility in all the expressions of their life and therefore also in regard to the forming of a family and to the procreation and education of children. These ought to be formed in a life of Faith and great trust in Divine Providence in order to be ready to undergo fatigue and sacrifices in the fulfilment of a mission so noble and often so arduous as is the cooperation with God in the transmission of human life and the education of offspring. For such education no institution provides so much efficacious resources as the Church which, even for this reason, has the right to full liberty to fulfill her mission:

In the service of life

Genesis relates how God imposed on the first human beings two commands: that of transmitting life — 'increase and multiply' ([4]) —

([4]) *Gen.*, I. 28.

and that of dominating nature — 'Fill the earth and subdue it' ([5]). These commands complement each other.

Certainly the Divine command to dominate nature is not aimed at destructive purposes. Instead it is for the service of life.

We point out with sadness one of the most disturbing contradictions by which Our epoch is tormented and by which it is being consumed, namely that, while on the one hand are brought out in strong relief situations of want and the spectre of misery and hunger haunts us; on the other hand scientific discoveries, technical inventions and economic resources are being used, often extensively, to provide terrible instruments of ruin and death.

A provident God grants sufficient means to the human race to solve in dignified fashion even the many and delicate problems attendant upon the transmission of life. But these problems can become difficult of solution or even insoluble because man, led astray in mind or perverted in will, turns to such means as are opposed to reason and hence he seeks ends that do not answer man's social nature nor the plans of Providence.

COOPERATION ON A WORLD SCALE

World dimensions of every important human problem

The progress of science and technology in all aspects of life multiply and increase the relationship between political communities and hence render their interdependence ever more profound and vital.

As a result, it can be said that problems of any importance, whatever their content may be — scientific, technical, economic, social, political or cultural — present today supranational and often worldwide dimensions.

Hence, the different political communities can no longer adequately solve their major problems in their own surroundings and with their own forces, even though they be communities which are notable for the high level and diffusion of their culture for the number and industriousness of their citizens, for the efficiency of their economic systems and the vastness and the richness of their territories. Political communities react on each other. And it may be said that each

([5]) *Ibid.*

succeeds in developing itself by contributing to the development of the other. Hence, understanding and cooperation are so necessary.

Mutual distrust

One can thus understand how in the minds of individual human beings and among different peoples the conviction of the urgent necessity of mutual understanding and cooperation is becoming ever more widespread. But at the same time, it seems that men, especially those entrusted with greater responsibility, show themselves unable to understand one another. The root of such inability is not to be sought in scientific, technical or economic reasons but in the absence of mutual trust. Men, and consequently states, fear each other. Each fears that the other harbors plans of conquest and is waiting for the favorable moment to put these plans into effect. Hence, each organizes its own defences and arms itself not for attacking, so it is said, but to deter the potential aggressor against any effective invasion.

As a consequence, vast human energies and gigantic resources are employed for nonconstructive purposes. Meanwhile, in the minds of individual human beings and among peoples there arises and grows a sense of uneasiness and reluctance which lessens the spirit of initiative for works on a broad scale.

Failure to acknowledge in the Moral Order

The lack of reciprocal trust finds its explanation in the fact that men, especially the more responsible ones, are inspired in the unfolding of their activity by different or radically opposed concepts of life. Unfortunately, in some of these concepts the existence of the moral order — an order which is transcendent, universal, absolute, equal and binding on all — is not recognized. Thus, they fail to meet and understand each other fully and openly in the light of one and the same law of justice, admitted and adhered to by all. It is true that the term justice and the phrase 'demands of justice' are uttered by the lips of all. However, these utterances take on different and opposite meanings.

Wherefore, the repeated and impassioned appeals to justice and the demands of justice, rather than offering a possibility of meeting or of understanding, increase the confusion, sharpen the contrasts and keep disputes inflamed. In consequence, the belief is spread that

to enforce one's rights and pursue one's own interests, no other means are left than recourse to violence in front of the most serious evils.

The true God, foundation of the Moral Order

Mutual trust among men and among states cannot begin nor increase except by the recognition of and respect for the moral order.

The moral order does not hold except in God. Cut off from God, it disintegrates. Man, in fact, is not only a material organism but is also a spirit endowed with thought and freedom. He demands, therefore, a moral and religious order which bears more than any material value on the directions and solutions it can give to the problems of individual and group life within the national communities and the relationships among them.

It has been claimed that in an era of scientific and technical triumphs, men can construct their civilization without God. But the truth is that these same scientific and technical advances present human problems of a worldwide scope which can be solved only in the light of a sincere and active faith in God, the beginning and end of man in the world.

These truths are confirmed by the ascertainment that the same limitless horizons which are opened up by scientific research help to give birth to the conviction and to develop it that mathematical and scientific notions point out but do not gather and much less express entirely the more profound aspects of reality. The tragic experience that the gigantic forces placed at the disposal of technology can be used for purposes both constructive and destructive makes evident the pressing importance of spiritual values so that scientific and technical progress may preserve its essentially instrumental character with reference to civilization.

Further, the sense of increasing dissatisfaction which spreads among human beings in national communities with a high standard of living destroys the illusion of a hoped—for paradise on earth. But at the same time, the consciousness of inviolable and universal rights becomes ever clearer, and ever more forceful is the aspiration for juster and more human relations. These are all motives which contribute toward making human beings more conscious of their own limitations and toward creating in them a striving for spiritual values. And this cannot but be a happy earnest of a sincere understanding and profitable cooperation.

Book Reviews

O'Callaghan, Denis, D. D., *Moral Principles of Fertility Control.* Dublin, Clomore and Reynolds, 1960, 39 p., 2/6 sh.

This small booklet by the Professor of Moral Theology of Maynooth College, analyses from the ethical standpoint (with medical background) the various uses of hormonal preparations in the control of fertility often refered to as contraceptive or birth control pills. The author treats the subject comprehensively (more fully than Mr. Ryan's booklet) in the light of Catholic moral principles and the principles of the natural law and makes clear why the use of these pills as contraceptives, sterilising agents or abortifacient is regarded as morally wrong by the Catholic Church. He is especially clear on the lawful and unlawful use of such drugs (for they have therapeutic as well as 'contraceptive' uses). The whole subject is dealt without undue technicalities medical or theological. It is therefore an excellent little treatise not only for doctors and moralists but for laymen who wish to be well informed on a topical issue which has a very important bearing on the whole vexed question of birth control.

A. McCormack

Toulemon, André, *Histoire des Doctrines de la Population.* Paris, Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1956, 161 p.

Although problems of population and their relation to the well-being of nations have occupied thinkers since the time of Plato and even before, the science of demography is a comparatively recent one.

This book is mainly concerned with an account of the various theories of population throughout history from the earliest times to the present day. As such it is an important and interesting study. Important, because it puts into historical perspective various doctrinaire ideas, such as those of Malthus and Rousseau; interesting, because it shows how great thinkers have regarded problems and evolved theories of demography for conditions basically similar to, or diverse from, our own. Sometimes with surprising aberrations. Plato,

for example, was an anti-populationist who believed among other things, that surplus children should be abandoned in the public street.

Most writers, until the present century, have been doctrinaire in their approach, bending somewhat the few facts that were known to the service of their theories, with the result that contradictory theories could hold sway in the same century. Generally these theories were not subjected to the discipline of facts.

M. Toulemon shows how in this century, with demography first of all concerned with impartially gathering facts, there is at least a basis for establishing a science without any global doctrinal bias. It is here that he sees its role: to depart from the vague generalities of world population doctrines and to realise that each country and race have their own demographic problems different from, and perhaps opposite to, those who are contemporary with them.

Using the data provided by censuses and surveys which are now very detailed, at least in the more civilised countries, it is possible to obtain a fairly accurate picture of the *static* element of a country's demographic situation. With caution and balance, one can then plan for a certain optimum population for any individual country, provided one realises the limitations of speculation with regard to the future.

He does not conceal the difficulty of doing this. He stresses, unlike some amateur demographers, that any attempt to forecast future trends is largely guesswork, which may be upset by unforeseen changes in circumstances and in the attitude of a country towards its birth rate. But he also shows that there are certain' 'laws' (I would rather call them guiding principles), which govern the movement of population upwards or downwards and that governments have now many means of influencing the climate of thought in their countries in such a way as to favour or to discourage increases in the birth rate.

Perhaps one of his most valuable services is to discredit the statistical demographers who wish to make an almost exact mathematical science of demography: Malthus and neo-Malthusians are good examples of this type. So many imponderables of a moral or spiritual or, at any rates, of a non-materialistic nature enter into the question of population trends that mathematical formula such as Malthus first introduced are completely out of place.

Having admitted the difficulty of deciding, except in general terms, the optimum population of a country and the necessity of tending towards it in a natural way rather than by violent changes, he concludes with a balanced statement of his own conviction. He says that it is the duty of the government of each country:

« d'une part encourager le sentiment familial et faire converger toutes les forces économiques et morales vers la natalité, tant que la population n'a pas atteint l'optimum désirable; d'autre part susciter la masse de production qui, étant donné le développement de la population et son accroissement prévisible, peut assurer à chaque citoyen le maximum de bonheur ou du moins de bien-être».

Even to state the problem in these terms is a big advance. M. Toulemon realises that it is much easier to state it than to solve it. Demography may be 'the key to history'; much more research and planning will have to be done before this young and untried science becomes the key to the future. But M. Toulemon has provided useful signposts on the road which it must travel, especially with regard to the pitfalls it must avoid.

A. McCormack

LABIN, Suzanne, *Il est moins cinq. Propagande et Infiltration soviétiques.* Paris, Editions Berger-Levrault, 1960, 129 p.

The chosen title, appropriate and almost startling, betrays the polemic character of the work.

Technical support, exact references, and verified statistics are lacking — reserved presumably for more scientific publications — and that lack is largely compensated for by subtlety of expression and some less fortunate neologisms. Yet one hesitates to criticize, because the position of Mme. Labin is absolutely radical and forbids all restriction of thought... at the risk, for the imprudent critic, of finding himself in strange company. But it must be said that the work contains certain regrettable exaggerations; regrettable especially in view of the fact that the work has been, in the words of the editor 'chosen as the principal report at the International Conference on the political war of the Soviets' (Paris, NATO, 1, 2, and 3 December, 1960) and contains in a few dozen pages all the essential information available on the direct and indirect U.S.S.R. propaganda in the world. The author accents a basic truth: '*The equilibrium of horror* so far maintained in atomic competition is the assurance *that the struggle will take place elsewhere.* It will take place in the political battlefield: I mean with the arms of propaganda, infiltration and organisation...' And to cite statistics, admittedly approximative, obtained by means of various evaluations: Russia, its satelites, and China

a) expend two billion dollars a year

b) engage two hundred thousand «agents» all over the world, for the purpose of attacking the ideological flank of the West's military defences (which are themselves not easily united).

By way of display, Mme. Labin advocates a reform of Western diplomacy in its relations with the countries of the East: an absolute refusal to make agreements which are not borne out in facts; the foundation of a League of Liberty, transcending party and national loyalties and endowed with all possible propaganda facilities; the institution of new and various organisms for the defence of democracy; and finally, the sending into the countries threatened by Communism of 'Missionaries of Liberty' technically and ideologically prepared for their task, who would go into the bye-ways, contacting the people, speaking their language in order to carry to them, first, the gospel of technique, and second, that of democracy. Unwittingly however, and here is the deficiency of the work, Mme. Labin neglects the non-political factors which have made many backward or underdeveloped countries easy prey for communist propaganda, because the Western peoples have long ignored or mocked at the imperatives of economic and social international justice, of which they should have been the guardians. If this heresy of Western thought, (as Toynbee designates Marxism-Leninism), be only a drastic appeal to the West to find again and to practise universally the precept of Christian charity, or fraternal help, we may be led one day to see it as a necessary evil, as the *mane thecel phares* written in bloody letters on the walls of the modern Babylons blinded by their egoism.

The work of Mme. Labin, though well documented and otherwise thoroughly convincing, lacks a certain measure of balance. The state of alarm does not exclude serenity of purpose. It also lacks at least one dimension.

B. Braun

MENDE, Tibor, *China and her Shadow*. London, Thames and Hudson, 1960, 360 p., 35 sh. *La Chine et son ombre*. Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1960, 14×19, 326 p.

Of the four parts of this book, the first is noteworthy. In his account of the economic and political history of the Chinese communist party to May 1960, the author however has not sufficiently stressed the increasing priority given to agriculture in the later period; and he has not abstained from passing judgments on the preceding regime of the Kuomintang, which he evidently knows only from its enemies

The three subsequent parts of the book are based on notes of a journey which he undertook in the spring of 1959. Here he makes many statements which we should like to take up and discuss; but we must remain content with only two or three. Individual consumption, far from having improved in 1960 (p. 199), was reduced. It is beyond doubt that since 1958 famine has raged in Kwangtung, one of the richest provinces of the country, and everything points to the same state of things elsewhere. The *Jenmin Jihpao* of August 28th acknowledged that 'to provide complete supplies of foodstuffs for the needs of the population, the production of cereals ought to be at least doubled', and five days later in the *Hung Ch'i* the Minister of Agriculture wrote that everything possible should be done so as to achieve this within ten years. In spite of the various hydraulic undertakings on which tens of millions of people work every year, it cannot be said that since the establishment of the communes, 'Chinese agriculture has entered a phase of less dependence on climatic conditions' (p. 240), when, in 1959, out of some 270 million acres of arable land, 100 million acres were struck by natural calamities, and 150 million in 1960. We learn from the author that in the autonomous regions the national minorities 'find it possible to play a considerable role, even in political affairs' (p. 218); but leaving aside the Tibetans, the Moslems of Ninhsia do not share this opinion, for with the encouragement of their governor they revolted in May 1950, April 1952, April and June 1958 (*Jenmin Jihpao,* 17/10/58). And is it possible to write that China is neither frightening nor angelic, but simply human (p. 316), when on page 28 he has spoken of the 'emphasis placed on complete insensitiveness' and that 'any callous economist could have prescribed almost everything which is now being done in China', and that he had a 'feeling of suffocation' which arose from 'the realisation of the tragedy which is going on behind almost everything one sees' ? No, it is impossible for a traveller, even though he may be an economist, to protect himself against the influence of propaganda, unless he is a specialist in Chinese questions. The present condition of the people is far harder than M. Mende thinks. It remains to say, however, that China has made remarkable progress in heavy industry, and that with assured progress in mechanisation and the use of fertilisers, agriculture will be greatly improved, and that at the moment the shadow of this vast country looms menacingly over the world. T. Mende does a useful work in drawing attention to this disquieting reality.

H. Jomin

Kuo Ping-Kia, *China, New Age and New Outlook*. London, Penguin Books, 1960, 11×18, 316 p.

This book appeared for the first time in 1956; it has now been brought up to date (to the end of 1959) and republished. It makes interesting reading. The numerous similarities between the communist revolution and certain events in the former history of China, especially the foundation of the Han dynasty, are illuminating; and the chapter on the foreign policy of the Pekin government is worth dwelling on.

But whoever has followed the development of the new regime closely, will be astonished at some of the author's statements, and still more so at the things he passes over in silence. The author says nothing about the influence of the Comintern on the Party during the years 1927-35; nothing about the evils of the agrarian reform; nothing about the failure of the little domestic blast-furnaces or the grievous shortage of labour in country districts. Nothing about the shortage of teachers in the schools; almost nothing about brainwashing or the revelations of May-June 1957, during the period of Hundred Flowers; and nothing about the refusal on the part of the immense majority of the prisoners of war in Korea to return to their homeland, China. And so on.

The account follows too closely and uncritically the writings of Mao Tse-tung. Are these less infallible for the Party than were the Three Principles of the People for the Kuomintang ? M. Kuo accepts too easily the figures given in official statistics. Can one possibly say that the regime has championed the cause of the peasants who now have to bear on their shoulders the crushing burden of an accelerated industrialisation ? Is collectivisation really so popular among the people who slaughtered their pigs and cattle wholesale, and left their farming implements to grow rusty and dilapidated ? Do the five-year plans really go without a hitch ? Is the twelve-year plan for agriculture (which was published in December 1955, but which was approved only on 10 April 1960) such a remarkable success, seeing that the country has been suffering since 1960 from a famine which has made it nesessary to buy enormous quantities or cereals from Australia, Canada and Burma, and when Peking, unable to pay for its purchases in 1960, has had to ask Moscow for a five-year moratorium on its payments for this year alone ? The author forgets to tell us that in August 1958 the Central Committee considered that thanks to the People's Communes, 'the realisation

of communism in our country is no longer merely a vision in the far distant future'. Far from being a success, this 'Chinese road to communism' was scarcely more than a slogan after the third year of the experiment. But we must break off this list of criticisms, which we could in fact make a great deal longer.

Undoubtedly the Chinese communist party is making remarkable and successful efforts to turn China into a great industrial and military power. But the author idealises it in an exaggerated fashion. One continues reading the book with surprise and bewilderment until the last chapter: then one understands. Convinced of the necessity of admitting China to the United Nations, and having no doubts about the fact that 'only a strong China can ensure peace', and that 'the ascendancy of communism is inexorably linked with that of the new China'. M. Kuo has been preparing for his conclusion throughout his book.

H. Jomin

TONGAS, Gérard, *L'enfer communiste au Nord Viêt-Nam.* Paris, Les Nouvelles Éditions Debresse, 1960, 464 p., 18 NF.

Founder and editor of the review, 'Orient-Occident', M. Tongas was in 1954 headmaster of the Lycée H. de Balzac, which was founded by him in Hanoi in competition with the 'colonialist' Lycée Albert Sarraut. A convinced supporter of peaceful coexistence, he wished to remain in Hanoi, when after the Geneva Agreements the majority of his compatriots left it. Unable to keep his lycée going, owing to the opposition of the French authorities, he stayed on as a teacher in a Viet-Namese school. Very quickly disillusioned, and then driven to despair by the conditions of life which became daily more 'hellish', he resolved recently to leave this country which he loved. This book is a first-hand account; its first draft was written in Hanoi from notes which he took each day about conversations with his Viet-Namese friends, some of whom were people of the first rank. Moving freely about the whole country, he saw many things for himself. This eye-witness account is extremely severe on the French General Delegation — he does not hesitate to quote names — which he accuses of having acted with the utmost clumsiness. According to him, North Viet-Nam could have been saved from seizure by the communists by applying strictly the Geneva Agreements. If they had been helped in the reconstruction of the country, the non-communist patriots, who were by far the most numerous, could have stood up

to the communist minority and created a national government. Perhaps. But these patriots were deeply divided in face of a compact and disciplined Party, maintained by neighbouring China. Whatever may be the truth of the matter, this book gives us a most interesting first-hand account of the hell which life is in North Viet-Nam. Doubtless the author is in a state of high feeling, and writes with a passionate sense of rebelliousness which can no longer be restrained. But he speaks as an eye-witness, admirably placed for knowing men and events. He describes for us in detail the characters of the principal leaders of the regime, the incompetence of most of the cadres, the insufficiency of the aid from communist countries, the attitude of the Russians and others towards the population, the wretched life led by peasants and workmen, as well as the lower cadres, the artisans and bourgeois, and the despondency of the young students... 'Twelve million slaves, loaded with chains, without any possibility of breaking them and changing their conditions of life or escaping from them, are living in the single hope that deliverance will come from outside this vast concentration camp before the remains of their physical and moral strength have finally deserted them, and before their last means of sustenance are entirely exhausted'.

H. Jomin

LOCHER, C. W., WAARDENBURG, P. J., IDENBURG, P. J., BAVINCK, J. H., *Beschouwingen over het Rassenvraagstuk*. Amsterdam, Uitg. W. ten Have N.V., 1959, 70 p., f. 1.90.

Some years ago, at the request of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Netherlands Council of Missions (Nederlandse Zendingsraad) set up a commission to study the racial problem.

These studies appeared separately in the 'Algemeen Zendingstijdschrift' and have finally been put together in a booklet with the title, 'Beschouwingen over het Rassenvraagstuk'.

This booklet makes no claim of course to cover all the aspects of the racial problem.

Prof. Dr. C. W. Locher deals with the problem from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology: 'Present opinions of cultural anthropology concerning culture, cultures, variations of culture and the formation of culture are entirely in contradiction with the traditional racial interpretation of the differences in culture among mankind. But this does not mean that cultural anthropology takes no account of the

influence of nature on culture. Culture-nature relationships are above all considered in general, all the more so because biological anthropology shows an increasing interest in the study of man as a biological creature independently of the subdivision of the races'. (p. 19-20).

Dr. P. J. Waardenburg then approaches the problem from the biological angle. 'The existence of pure original races is a false myth, and the call of the Hitler regime for a return to this original state by marriages between the sole representatives of the self-styled noble nordic race, and to combat vigorously any cross-breeding of races, is biologically absurd' (p. 34). He defends a biologico-genetic conception in the matter of races against the so-called static and anthropological conception, which has now been superseded.

Dr. P. J. Idenburg examines inter-racial relationships, as they present themselves at this moment, especially in the United States and South Africa.

Since the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10 December 1948 (Resolution 217,III), a favourable evolution can be observed in interracial relations, except where political and social interests clash as it were inevitably. On the other hand, South America shows us in an extraordinary fashion the possibilities of interpenetration of races and cultures.

Finally, Prof. Dr J. H. Bavinck deals with the subject, 'Bible and Race', and shows that in this matter a direct appeal to the Bible is theologically unacceptable, but that the Bible gives us the answer indirectly when we take into consideration: divine Providence, the idea of the Kingdom of God, the great commandment to love our neighbour, and the eschatological destiny of all men.

By this brochure, the 'Nederlandse Zendingsraad' makes an honourable contribution towards a broader understanding of the delicate racial problem.

M. Le Bon.

Le Tibet et la République de Chine (Report submitted to the International Commission of Jurists by the Juridical Committee of Inquiry on the question of Tibet). Genève, Publications de la Commission (6, rue Mont-de-Sion), 1960, 366 p.

As is well known, the International Commission of Jurists aims 'to make known and to promote the principle of legality and the notion of the primacy of Law'. For this purpose, all over the world

it holds enquiries, publishes reports, organises congresses, and makes protests. In the case of Tibet it by-passes the principles, and permits the facts to speak for themselves — the facts which have been confirmed by the jurists, lawyers, and judges of Africa, Asia, America and Europe — facts which 'betray a permanent violation of the Primacy of Law as this term is understood by all jurists everywhere, namely, the rule of legality, respecting the dignity of the human person'.

The Report examines in detail the three most important questions:

a) Have the Chinese been guilty of genocide ?
b) The violation of the Rights of Man
c) The status of Tibet.

Not having authority to enter Tibetan territory, the Committee of Inquiry gathered its information from the Dalai-Lama himself—in refuge in India — from his *entourage* and from various other refugees. On the Chinese side it was limited to official publications and the press, which, of course, in the present Chinese regime, can also be termed 'official'.

Concerning genocide, the Report concludes that acts of genocide, aimed at exterminating the Tibetan population as a religious group, have been committed; secondly, that these acts can be rightly termed 'genocide' even without a special international convention. On the other hand, it declares insufficiently established the claim that these acts of genocide were aimed at exterminating this people in so far as it is a racial, national or ethnic group.

On the question of the Status of China, the most delicate problem was to weigh the claim of the Peoples Republic of China insisting that Tibet was 'a depending territory' and forbidding any outside interference in a matter pertaining exclusively to the national competence of a State, according to terms of the Charter of the United Nations. According to the Committee of Enquiry, Tibet had from 1919 to 1950 all the essential constitutive elements of a State as understood by public international law. In 1951 however, she abandoned her sovereignty by signing with China an agreement referring to the terms of peaceful liberation. But since China did not observe the engagements of this agreement (concerning the existing regime, the Dalai-Lama, the Panchen-Lama, and the religious structure of Tibet in general), she was justly denounced by Tibet in March, 1959, which meant that Tibet was restored to the state of independence *de facto,* if not *de jure,* and that any Chinese intervention could be regarded as agression.

The internal obstacle to progress in Tibet is the conservative influence of national traditions. Yet, 'nobody', writes the secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists, 'nobody, beginning with the Dalai-Lama, has ever questioned the necessity of social reforms: the Tibetan Government was on the point of effecting these reforms, and was prohibited from actually doing so by the intervention of the Chinese'. This may well be; however, it is only just to admit that the whole world was unanimously agreed that this Roof of the World, this anachronistic community, should be conserved in its quasi-magic immutability, partly for fear of destroying something irreplaceable, partly out of love of the antique.

Practically speaking, the protests of the Commission will have no more effect on the summit of the Himalayas than they will on the sea-coast at Lake-Succes. However, they will have the merit of adding to our information. Does Tibet contain within itself the latent energy sufficient to make it blossom one day in Renaissance ? For a country where so much profound spirituality is exercised in asceticism, that possibility glows with promise.

B. Braun

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